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THE  
OXYRHYNCHUS PAPYRI

VOLUME LXVI



THE  
OXYRHYNCHUS PAPYRI  
VOLUME LXVI

EDITED WITH TRANSLATIONS AND NOTES BY

N. GONIS

and

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## PREFACE

The first part of this volume continues our publication of theological texts from volume LXV. The major item here comprises the extensive remains of a codex of *Revelation*, edited by Dr Chapa (**4499**); dating from the late third or the fourth century AD, this papyrus is the oldest surviving witness for portions of *Revelation*. Smaller fragments, edited by Dr W. E. H. Cockle, include pre-Constantinian texts of *Luke*, *Romans* and *Hebrews*. Allocated P-numbers are given below the inventory numbers.

The literary texts divide into three groups. In Part II Parsons edits two related papyri of epigram; of the six poems, one is known from the Palatine Anthology and there attributed to Nicarchus, the satirist of the early Empire; the five new poems are probably his as well. Dr Obbink edits five papyri in which Anoubion, astrologer and aspiring didactic poet, hammers out horoscopes in elegant elegiacs. Part III contains papyri of Comedy: two further fragments of New Comedy (**4522–3**); two prose texts concerned with Aristophanes (**4508–9**); twelve papyri from known plays of Aristophanes himself (**4510–21**), which confirm some modern conjectures, demonstrate the antiquity of some 'late' variants, and illustrate the uniformity of the colometric tradition. **4508–21** are all edited by Dr Gonis and originally formed part of his Oxford University doctoral thesis.

Part IV brings together twenty-one assorted documents, the work of seven different editors, ranging in date from the first century to the seventh century AD. Notable among these are **4527**, seemingly with the total revenue in wheat for a year from one of the three divisions of the Arsinoite nome; **4528**, a report of public doctors which completes LXIII **4366**; **4537–8**, with measurements and technical details of irrigation works, edited by Dr Syrcou, and five invitations to various festivals edited by Dr Montserrat. Both of the last two groups derive from doctoral theses written at University College London under the supervision of Professor Maehler.

The literary index has been compiled by Dr Gonis; Coles has prepared the documentary indexes and co-ordinated the whole.

We are again specially grateful to the Rev. Dr David Parker for his advice on the New Testament texts **4494–4500**. Thomas acknowledges the continued support of the Leverhulme Trust.

We are as ever indebted to the staff of The Charlesworth Group, whose energies have facilitated the publication of this volume so soon after its two predecessors.

*January, 1999*

R. A. COLES  
P. J. PARSONS  
J. R. REA  
J. D. THOMAS  
*General Editors*



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JLCM=J. L. Calvo Martínez  
 JC=J. Chapa  
 WEHC=W. E. H. Cockle  
 TF=T. Finney  
 NG=N. Gonis

EWB=E. W. Handley  
 WBH=W. B. Henry  
 DM=D. Montserrat  
 DO=D. Obbink  
 PJP=P. J. Parsons

US=U. Schlag  
 PS=P. Schubert  
 AS=A. Syrcou  
 JDT=J. D. Thomas

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## NUMBERS AND PLATES

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<b>4495</b>	I, II	<b>4508</b>	XV
<b>4496</b>	I, II	<b>4509</b>	XV
<b>4497</b>	I, II	<b>4519</b>	XVI
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<b>4500</b>	I, II	<b>4537</b>	XVIII
<b>4501</b>	IX	<b>4538</b>	XIX
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## NOTE ON THE METHOD OF PUBLICATION AND ABBREVIATIONS

The basis of the method is the Leiden system of punctuation, see *CE* 7 (1932) 262–9. It may be summarized as follows:

$\alpha\beta\gamma$	The letters are doubtful, either because of damage or because they are otherwise difficult to read
...	Approximately three letters remain unread by the editor
$[ \alpha\beta\gamma ]$	The letters are lost, but restored from a parallel or by conjecture
$[ \dots ]$	Approximately three letters are lost
( )	Round brackets indicate the resolution of an abbreviation or a symbol, e.g. ( $\alpha\rho\tau\acute{\alpha}\beta\eta$ ) represents the symbol $\overline{\alpha\rho\tau}$ , $\epsilon\tau\rho(\alpha\tau\eta\gamma\acute{o}\varsigma)$ represents the abbreviation $\epsilon\tau\rho\varsigma$
$\llbracket \alpha\beta\gamma \rrbracket$	The letters are deleted in the papyrus
$\overset{\sim}{\alpha\beta\gamma}$	The letters are added above the line
$\langle \alpha\beta\gamma \rangle$	The letters are added by the editor
$\{ \alpha\beta\gamma \}$	The letters are regarded as mistaken and rejected by the editor

Heavy arabic numerals refer to papyri printed in the volumes of *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri*.

The abbreviations used are in the main identical with those in J. F. Oates *et al.*, *Checklist of Editions of Greek Papyri and Ostraca*, 4th edition (*BASP* Suppl. No. 7, 1992). It is hoped that any new ones will be self-explanatory.



# I. NEW TESTAMENT

## 4494–4500.

The apparatus criticus in the texts which follow is based on Nestle-Aland, *Nouum Testamentum Graece*, 27th edition (Stuttgart 1993), with occasional further information from Tischendorf, *Editio octava critica maior* (Leipzig 1869–1894), and von Soden, *Die Schriften des neuen Testaments* (Göttingen 1911–1913). Symbols used in the apparatus follow Nestle-Aland<sup>27</sup> and the supplements are also taken from this edition, except where otherwise indicated. References to Turner in the introductions are to E. G. Turner, *The Typology of the Early Codex* (Philadelphia 1977). We are greatly indebted for advice, especially on the collating, to the Rev. Dr David Parker.

### 4494. MATTHEW X 13–14, 25–27

A 3B.6/13  
P<sup>110</sup>

7 × 3.8 cm

Fourth century  
Plates I–II

This fragment of a papyrus codex is written in a carbon ink in a handsome hand which slopes to the right. It is an example of the type of bookhand which Guglielmo Cavallo calls ‘la maiuscola di tipo ogivale inclinato’ (*Ricerche sulla maiuscola biblica*, Firenze 1967, 118–19), whose characteristics are set out under the heading ‘écriture littéraire penchée vers la droite’ by William Lameere, *Aperçus de paléographie homérique*, Paris–Brussels 1960, 178–9. It is largely bilinear, being 2.5–3 mm high, and is written with a narrow, pointed pen. Phi, beta and upsilon extend above and below these limits. It has mannered serifs and no ligatures. Particularly to be noted is the roundel of phi, which is a flattened oval 6 mm wide. Upsilon is written in a single movement, beginning at top left, proceeding to top right and then descending to the foot with a final flourish to the left. The bow of omega is flattened. Epsilon and theta have extended cross-bars. Early examples of similar hands are P. Chester Beatty I (P<sup>45</sup>), assigned to the third century, and P. Flor. II 108, whose omega, xi and alpha with rounded bowl are comparable; this has an item from the Heroninus archive on the verso and hence must have been written not later than the mid third century. However, the exaggerated width of phi and alpha with the knotted top suggest a later date for **4494**. XV **1778**, assigned to the fourth century, has a similar phi, but the hand is slightly less inclined to the right; and dated documents from the Theophanes archive of c. 320 (*GMAW*<sup>2</sup> 70; *GBEBP* 2a) would provide a suitable context.

Inorganic tremata are placed over  $\nu\mu\omega\nu$  in ↓3 and 6 (see *GMAW*<sup>2</sup>, pp. 10–11). Apostrophes are found in  $\beta\epsilon\epsilon\lambda'\zeta\epsilon\beta\omicron\nu\lambda$  in →3 (cf. *GMAW*<sup>2</sup>, p. 11),  $\epsilon\kappa'\mu\alpha\xi\alpha\tau\epsilon$  in ↓7 and after  $\omicron\nu\kappa$  in →6. Rough breathings occur in →2 *bis*, 6 and 7. Low stops are placed in ↓4 and →2, 4 and 5. The only abbreviations are  $\alpha\nu\tau\bar{\eta}$  in ↓2 and the *nomen sacrum*  $\overline{\kappa\epsilon}$  in →2.

The number of letters per line varies considerably, on → from 25 to 32, and on ↓ from 23 to 31, hence only a rough estimate can be made of the number of lines per page. If we suppose an average of 24–26 letters per line and a normal text, there were probably some 40–43 lines per page. The width of the minimum surviving right-hand margin on ↓ is 5 mm. No top or bottom margins survive. This suggests on the ↓ side a written area of approximately 11 × 20 cm, and an overall page measurement of 12 × 22 cm. These estimates would fall within Turner's Group 8.

The only text in the papyrological collections to overlap with **4494** is 0171 = P. Berol. 11863 + PSI I 2 + PSI II 124, a parchment codex assigned to c. AD 300. **4494** has several unique readings, some of which, but certainly not all, may be due to scribal carelessness. In addition to the works mentioned in the general introduction, S. C. E. Legg, *Euangelium secundum Matthaeum* (Oxford 1940), and, for the Old Latin, A. Jülicher, *Itala: Das Neue Testament in altlateinischer Überlieferung I* (revised by K. Aland; Berlin 1972), have been consulted.

↓	. . . . .		
		] . . . .	
		ε]ιρηνη επ αυτη̄	x 13
	[εαν δε μη η]	αξια· η ειρηνη υμων	
	[εφ υμας επις]	τραφητω. και ος εαν μη	14
5	[δεξεται υμα]	ς μηδε ακουση τους λογους	
	[υμων εξε]	ρχομενων υμων της οι	
	[κιας η της πο]	λεως η κωμης εκ'μαξα	
	[τε τον κονιορτο]	ν απο των πο[δων	
	. . . . .		
→	. . . . .		
		γενη]	25
	ται ως ο	[διδασκαλος αυτου και ο δουλος]	
	ως̄ ο̄ κ̄ς̄	αυτου. εῑ [τον οικοδεσποτην επεκα]	
	λες̄[ε]	α'ν̄ Βεελ'ζεβουλ̄ προς̄ω̄ [μαλλον τους]	
	οικιους αυτου. μη ουν	[[β]] φ[οβηθητε]	26
5	αυτους. ουδεν γαρ εστιν	[κεκαλυμμε]	
	νον̄ ο̄ ουκ'	αποκαλυφθ[ησεται και]	
	[κρ]υπτον̄ ο̄ ου	γνωσθησε[ται ο λεγω]	27
	[υμιν εν τη σ]	κο[τια	
	. . . . .		

↓<sub>1</sub> Traces of the feet of 4 letters. The expected text is *καὶ εἰ μὴ ἡ οἰκία ἐλθᾶτω ἡ εἰρήνη*.

2 All other MSS include *ὑμῶν* after *εἰρήνη* (as in line 3).

3 *εἰ μὴ ἡ* ἀξία: so most MSS. *εἰ δὲ μὴ ἀξία* L; *εἰ δὲ μὴ γέ* D.

4 *ἐφ' ὑμᾶς*: so **Ξ** B W 892. *ἐφ' ὑμᾶς*; *πρὸς ὑμᾶς*, read by C D and most other MSS, is probably too long for the space.

6 *ἐξερχομένων ὑμῶν*: all other MSS read *ἐξερχόμενοι*. On the use of the genitive absolute where a participle could have agreed with the subject of the sentence see N. Turner, *A Grammar of New Testament Greek. III Syntax* (Edinburgh 1963), 322–3, and Blass-Debrunner-Rehkopf, *Grammatik des Neutestamentlichen Griechisch* (17 Göttingen 1990), § 423.

Before *τῆς* **Ξ** B D 33. 157 *ῥε*, supported by several versions, insert *ἐξω*.

6–7 *τῆς οἰκίας ἡ τῆς πόλεως ἡ κωμῆς*: **Ξ** (0281) *f*<sup>13</sup> 892 *ῥε* read *τῆς οἰκίας ἡ τῆς πόλεως ἡ κωμῆς ἐκείνης*; B and most MSS read *τῆς οἰκίας ἡ τῆς πόλεως ἐκείνης*. D reads *τῆς πόλεως ἡ κωμῆς*, omitting both *τῆς οἰκίας* ἡ and *ἐκείνης*; *ἐκείνης* is also omitted by a few minuscules, supported by all the Old Latin MSS (except f), vg, sa and bo.

7–8 *ἐκ' αἵματός*: all other MSS read *ἐκτιναξατέ*. *ἀπομαρσσομεθα* occurs in Luke x 11.

8 *ἀπο τῶν ποδῶν*: other Greek MSS of Matthew are divided between *ἐκ τῶν ποδῶν* (**Ξ** C 0281.33.892 *al*) and *τῶν ποδῶν* (B D and most MSS). The Old Latin MSS mostly read *de pedibus vestris*; k has *a pedibus vestris*. In the comparable passage in Luke ix 5, however, most Greek MSS read *τὸν κονιορτὸν ἀπο τῶν ποδῶν ὑμῶν ἀποτινασσετε* (or *ἀποτιναξατέ*).

→2–3 *ἐπεκαλεσάμενοι*: all other MSS have the words in the reverse order, except k which reads *dixerunt Belzebul*. *ἐπεκαλεσαν* is read by **Ξ** B C and most MSS; *ἐπεκαλεσαντο* **Ξ**\* (L) N *ῥε*; *ἐκαλεσαν* Θ 0171 *f*<sup>1</sup> 700. 1424 *ῥε*; *καλοῦσιν* D. Either *ἐπεκαλεσαν* or *ἐκαλεσαν* could have been the reading of the papyrus.

3 *Βεελζεβούλ*: zeta corrected from sigma. This, or similar, is the reading of C (D L) W Θ *f*<sup>1.13</sup> 33 **W** it sy<sup>h</sup> co Cyp; *Βεεζεβούλ*: **Ξ** B *ῥε*; Beelzebub: c (ff<sup>1</sup>) vg sy<sup>s,p</sup>.

3–4 *τοὺς οἰκίους*: more likely to be a blunder for *οἰκιακούς* than a variant *οικ(ε)ίους*; *οἰκιακούς* (or *οικειακούς*) is the reading of **Ξ** C D and most MSS. *τοὺς οἰκιακοὺς* B\*. The papyrus may have had *οἰκίους* at first, with the final iota then corrected to upsilon; but it is more likely that the upsilon was merely re-inked.

W. E. H. COCKLE

#### 4495. LUKE XVII 11–13; 22–23

A 3.B4/6B.39  
p<sup>111</sup>

2.9 × 4.8 cm

Third century  
Plates I–II

The text of this papyrus codex fragment is written in a carbon ink in an upright, semi-documentary hand, which can be assigned to the third century, most probably the first half. Several of the letter-forms resemble those used in P. Giss. 40 (Plate VI) of AD 215. The letters are 2–2.5 mm high and there are several ligatures. There are no breathings or punctuation, and the only *nomen sacrum* preserved is *ἰησοῦς* in ↓<sub>4</sub>. If the text as supplemented is correct there are 32–34 letters per line on the ↓ side and 31–32 on the → side. This would suggest a page of 21–22 lines of text.

Since no margins survive, the position of the fragment within the column of text is uncertain and the supplements at left and right are *exempli gratia* only. In addition to the works cited in the general introduction *The New Testament in Greek: the Gospel according to St Luke II* (Oxford 1987), and, for the Old Latin, A. Jülicher, *Itala: Das Neue Testament in altlateinischer Überlieferung III* (revised by K. Aland; Berlin 1976), have been consulted.

The only other papyrus to preserve this section of the Gospel is  $\mathfrak{P}^{75}$  = P. Bodmer XIV + XV, assigned to the third century. The only certain difference between **4495** and  $\mathfrak{P}^{75}$  is at →2-3, where **4495** agrees with D.

↓

. . . . .

xvii 11-12

Γαλι]λαιας και ε[ιςερχομενου αυτου]

[εις τινα κωμην] απηντης[αν αυτω ι λεπροι αν]

[δρες οι εστησα]ν πορωθ[εν και αυτοι ηραν] 13

[φωνην λεγοντε]ς ιην επ[ιστατα

. . . . .

→

. . . . .

22

]. [. ] προ[ς τους μαθη]

[τας ελευσονται η]μεραι του επ[ιθυμησαι]

[υμας μιαν των η]μερων του [υιου του ανου]

[ιδειν και ουκ οψ]εσθε και ε[ρουσιν υμιν] 23

5 [ιδου εκει η ιδου] ωδε μη . [

. . . . .

↓2 απηντης[αν αυτω: this is replaced in D by οπου ησαν, supported by e and λ; a b c ff<sup>2</sup> i l q s read *et ecce* (similarly sy<sup>a,c</sup>).

απηντης[αν: so  $\mathfrak{P}^{75}$  A B W Ψ ℳ; υπηντησαν **ℵ** L N Θ 063 f<sup>1,13</sup> 579. 892. 1241. 2542 *al.*

αυτω is omitted by  $\mathfrak{P}^{75}$  B L. Whether it was omitted in the papyrus depends on whether δεκα was written as a word or a figure.

3 οι εστησα]ν πορωθ[εν: omitted **ℵ**\*. There is insufficient room for ανεστησαν (for εστησαν), the reading of B *pc*.

πορωθεν: πορρωθεν all MSS (except W which reads πορρω).

3-4 αυτοι ηραν (+την **ℵ**) φωνην λεγοντε]ς: the broken letter at the start of line 4 suits sigma but cannot be eta; we can therefore be sure that the papyrus did not read εκραξαν φωνη μεγαλη, the reading of D with support from e.

→1 Before προς most MSS read ειπεν δε; D 157. 1071 read ειπεν ουν. The surviving trace is indeterminate.

2 Spacing suggests that the papyrus did not add αυτου after μαθητας with A and several other MSS and versions.

2-3 του επ[ιθυμησαι υμας: so D f<sup>13</sup> 157, with the support of most Old Latin MSS; οτε (οταν L) επιθυμησετε (or -σητε)  $\mathfrak{P}^{75}$  **ℵ** A B L and most MSS.

3 It is probable that ανθρωπου was abbreviated, but less certain that the same is true of υιου (cf. A. H. R. E. Paap, *Nomina sacra*, 105-6, 110-12). If so, the papyrus did not follow D in adding τουτων after ημερων, unless it also followed D in omitting ιδειν.

4 οψ]εσθε: so  $\mathfrak{P}^{75}$  and most MSS; οψεσθαι **ℵ** A D N R W *al.*

5 εκει η ιδου] ωδε: so  $\mathfrak{P}^{75}$  B 579 and some Bohairic MSS; εκει ιδου ωδε: L; εκει και ιδου ωδε: **ℵ**; any of these could have been the reading of the papyrus. It did not read ωδε ιδου εκει with D W 33. *al.*, supported by e q vg (sy<sup>p</sup>), ωδε η ιδου εκει with A Θ Ψ ℳ, supported by [a] aur c d and sy<sup>b</sup>, ωδε και ιδου εκει with M *pc*, supported by most Old Latin MSS, or ωδε η εκει with f<sup>13</sup>, supported by one Old Latin MS (l).



After  $\omega\delta\epsilon$  most MSS have  $\mu\eta\ \alpha\pi\epsilon\lambda\theta\eta\tau\epsilon\ \mu\eta\delta\epsilon\ \delta\iota\omega\xi\eta\tau\epsilon$ .  $\mathfrak{P}^{75}$  B  $f^{13}$  and the Sahidic omit  $\alpha\pi\epsilon\lambda\theta\eta\tau\epsilon\ \mu\eta\delta\epsilon$ ;  $f^1$ , supported by  $\text{sy}^{\text{hmg}}$ , reads  $\mu\eta\ \pi\iota\sigma\tau\epsilon\upsilon\sigma\eta\tau\epsilon$ ; 579  $p^c$  read  $\mu\eta\ \epsilon\zeta\epsilon\lambda\theta\eta\tau\epsilon$ . The trace surviving after  $\mu\eta$  is too slight to be decisive.

W. E. H. COCKLE

**4496.** ACTS OF THE APOSTLES XXVI 31–32; XXVII 6–7

100/126(a)  
 $\mathfrak{P}^{112}$

5.2 × 5.2 cm

Fifth century  
Plates I–II

A fragment of a papyrus codex containing parts of four verses from chapters 26 and 27 of Acts. The hand is a large and carefully executed Biblical Majuscule; see on this script G. Cavallo, *Ricerche sulla maiuscola biblica* (1967). Although somewhat reminiscent of fourth-century hands, e.g. Sinaiticus and Vaticanus, it is heavier and more mannered, with marked chiaroscuro, and is thus closer to several hands assigned to the fifth century, e.g., Cavallo and Maehler, *GBEBP* (1987) 18a, 18b, 24a, and Codex Alexandrinus. On the other hand, the shading is less extreme, and the finials on horizontal elements less marked, than in the Vienna Dioscorides (*GBEBP* 25b), which can be dated c. AD 513.

On the → side the papyrus has 17–20 letters per line and on the ↓ side 19–23 if the restorations are correct. If we assume a normal text, some 515 letters will have been lost between the two sides or approximately 26 lines. This would give a page of some 34 lines, assuming that we have a fragment of a single-column codex. The average line height is just over 7 mm and a typical line would have been 12 cm wide, judging by the size of the surviving letters. If we allow 3 cm for margins on all sides, a single-column page would have measured approximately 18 × 31 cm. This fits reasonably well into Turner's Group 5, which includes many 4th- and 5th-century papyri along with a 6th- or 7th-century codex of Acts ( $\mathfrak{P}^{74}$  = P. Bodmer XVII). A double-column codex in which the fragment occupied the outer column would have measured approximately 33 × 31 cm. This very broad format is unlikely but not impossible; a few examples in Turner's Group 2 have somewhat similar dimensions.

If this was a single-column codex, a typical page would have held about 120 words. Consequently, about 160 pages would have been required for Acts alone or about 220 pages for Acts and the Catholic Epistles. Both of these are plausible ( $\mathfrak{P}^{45}$  is estimated to have had some 220 pages). A combination such as Gospels + Acts can be ruled out by the enormity of the number of pages required (even if we suppose a two-column codex). The combination Pauline Epistles + Acts is also too great if the codex had only a single column.

There is one *nomen sacrum* abbreviation,  $\overline{\alpha\nu\omicron\varsigma}$  (→4), a stop which stands at two-

thirds letter-height ( $\downarrow_3$ ), and one instance of diaeresis ( $\downarrow_4$ ). There are no accents. **4496** is the earliest Greek witness to an addition at the end of verse 32.

In addition to the works cited above in the general introduction J. H. Ropes, *The Text of Acts*=Vol. III of F. J. Foakes Jackson and Kirsopp Lake, *The Beginnings of Christianity* (1926), and M.-É. Boismard and A. Lamouille, *Texte occidental des Actes des Apôtres* (1984), have been consulted. As D is not extant for this section of Acts, h has been cited where relevant.

→

	[αναχωρ]ησα[ντες ελαλουν]	xxvi 31
	[προς αλ]ληλους οτι [ουδεν]	
	[θανατο]ν η δεσμων [αξιον]	
	[πρασσει] ο̅ αν̅ος ουτο[ς]	
5	[ει μη επ]εκεκλητ[ο Καισα]	32
	[ρα και ου]τως εκρι[νεν ο]	
	[ηγεμων] αυτον αν[απεμ]	
	[.....]. [.....]. [.....]	

↓

	Αλε]ξανδ[ρινον πλεον]	xxvii 6
	[εις τη]ν Ιταλιαν ε[νεβιβασεν]	
	[ημας] εις αυτο· βρα[δυπλο]	7
	[ουντε]ς εν δε ικαν[αις ημε]	
5	[ραις και] μολις γεν[ομενοι]	
	[κατα τ]ην Κνιδον [μη προς]	
	[εωντο]ς ημας τ[ου]	

→<sub>2</sub> All MSS except 1838 and 1874 add λεγοντες after αλληλους. h reads *secesserunt praefantes inter se de eo dicentes*.

οτι is omitted by  $\mathfrak{P}^{74}$  69 and 328.

3 The papyrus agrees with  $\mathfrak{P}^{74}\mathfrak{N}$  B 33. 69. 81. 181. 242 vg; αξιον θανατου η δεσμων A bo; θανατου αξιον η δεσμων H L P h.

3-4 αξιον πρασσει B  $\mathfrak{M}$  it sy; αξιον τι πρασσει  $\mathfrak{P}^{74}\mathfrak{N}$  A 33. 81. 104. 945. 1175. 1739. 1891 *pc* vg; αξιον πρασσει τι 044. Considerations of space are slightly in favour of the omission of τι in the papyrus.

4 Between ουτος and ει μη nearly all MSS add Αγριππας δε τω Φητω εφη απολελυθει ηδυνατο ο ανθρωπος ουτος ( $\mathfrak{P}^{74}$  reads only απολελυθε ηδυνατο [sic]). 326 and 2464 agree with **4496** in omitting the sentence. Its omission is presumably due to homoioteleuton.

In **4496** the supplement at the end of line 4 is very short, but to transfer  $\epsilon\iota$  to this line would make the supplement at the start of line 5 too short. Perhaps the end of line 4 was left blank since verse 31 finishes at this point. A further oddity is the superscript bar which extends to the left of  $\overline{\alpha\nu\omicron\varsigma}$  over the omicron before it.

5  $\epsilon\pi\lceil\epsilon\kappa\epsilon\kappa\lambda\eta\tau[ο: \epsilon\pi\iota\kappa\epsilon\kappa\lambda\eta\tau\omicron \mathfrak{P}^{74} \text{ A L } 1. 4. 97. 181. 242. 421. 431 \text{ } \rho\varsigma.$

6–8 Most MSS proceed directly from *Kaicaipa* to the start of Chapter 27,  $\omega\varsigma \delta\epsilon \epsilon\kappa\rho\iota\theta\eta$ . At this point 97 adds  $\kappa\alpha\iota \omicron\upsilon\tau\omega\varsigma \epsilon\kappa\rho\iota\nu\epsilon\nu \alpha\upsilon\tau\omicron\nu \omicron \eta\gamma\epsilon\mu\omega\nu \alpha\nu\alpha\pi\epsilon\mu\pi\epsilon\varsigma\theta\alpha\iota \text{ } \text{Kaicaipa}$ , and 421 adds  $\kappa\alpha\iota \omicron\upsilon\tau\omega\varsigma \epsilon\kappa\rho\iota\nu\epsilon\nu \omicron \eta\gamma\epsilon\mu\omega\nu \alpha\nu\alpha\pi\epsilon\mu\phi\alpha\iota \text{ } \text{Kaicaipa}$ . After *Caesarem* h reads *et ita legatus mitti eum Ca[sari iudicavit]*. A similar addition is supported by several Old Latin MSS and by  $\text{sy}^{\text{hmg}}$  ( $\text{sy}^{\text{p}}$  has a clause meaning ‘and Festus gave orders concerning him that he should be sent to Italy’); see Ropes, 240–1. The traces in line 8 are minimal. It is possible that the papyrus read  $\alpha\nu[\alpha\pi\epsilon\mu\lceil\psi\alpha\iota \text{ } \text{Kai}\lceil\alpha\rho\lceil$ .

↓1–2 The supplements at the right are rather long, but final nu may have been written as a superscript bar or the letters may have been miniaturised at line ends.

2  $\tau\eta\lceil\gamma: 014. 255. 431. 489. 1518 \text{ } \rho\varsigma \text{ omit.}$

$\epsilon[\nu\epsilon\beta\iota\beta\alpha\varsigma\epsilon\nu]$ : the papyrus agrees with  $\mathfrak{N} \text{ A B } 014. 020. 025. 81 \text{ } al$  against several minuscules which read  $\alpha\nu\epsilon\beta\iota\beta\alpha\varsigma\epsilon\nu$ .

3  $\eta\mu\alpha\varsigma\lceil \epsilon\iota\varsigma \alpha\upsilon\tau\omicron:$  om.  $\epsilon\iota\varsigma \alpha\upsilon\tau\omicron$  h; add.  $\tau\omicron\upsilon\tau\omicron \mathfrak{N}^*$ ;  $\epsilon\iota\varsigma \alpha\upsilon\tau\omicron \eta\mu\alpha\varsigma$  614. 915;  $\eta\mu\alpha\varsigma \epsilon\nu \alpha\upsilon\tau\omega$  1838.

3–4  $\beta\rho\alpha[\delta\upsilon\pi\lambda\omicron\upsilon\omicron\nu\tau\epsilon\lceil\varsigma \epsilon\nu \delta\epsilon \iota\kappa\alpha\nu[\alpha\iota\varsigma \eta\mu\epsilon\rho\alpha\iota\varsigma$ : all other Greek witnesses have  $\epsilon\nu \iota\kappa\alpha\nu\alpha\iota\varsigma$  ( $\epsilon\kappa\epsilon\iota\nu\alpha\iota\varsigma$  81)  $\delta\epsilon \eta\mu\epsilon\rho\alpha\iota\varsigma \beta\rho\alpha\delta\upsilon\pi\lambda\omicron\upsilon\omicron\nu\tau\epsilon\varsigma$ , which is the order one would expect in view of the position of  $\delta\epsilon$ ; h reads *et cum tarde nauigarem per aliquod [tempus]*, supporting the papyrus’ transposition along with  $\text{syr}^{\text{p}}$   $\text{eth}^{\text{mss}}$ . Further complications are that there might be room for  $\beta\rho\alpha[\delta\upsilon\pi\lambda\omicron\upsilon\omicron\upsilon$  in line 3, and the trace before  $\epsilon\nu$  does not suit sigma very well. Possibly this is to be understood as a mark to indicate an error in the MS or perhaps the papyrus had a hitherto unattested reading.

Below line 7 there are apparent traces of ink from a line 8 but these are in fact no more than a slight darkening at the edge of the papyrus.

T. FINNEY

#### 4497. EPISTLE TO THE ROMANS ii 12–13, 29

A 9/6  
 $\mathfrak{P}^{113}$

2.7 × 2.4 cm

Third century  
Plates I–II

This tiny codex fragment is written in carbon ink in a neat severe style, largely bilinear; XXXII **2619** may be compared, and to a lesser extent the heavier LX **4041**, a roll but with similar narrow columns.

High stops occur in ↓3 and 4 and probably in →2. There are two rough breathings in ↓4. The *nomen sacrum*  $\overline{\pi\upsilon\iota}$  occurs in ↓3. A line filler of *diple* form is used at the end of →2.

As supplemented the number of letter spaces per line ranges from 11–13. If we assume a normal text, the number of lines missing between the end of →4 and the beginning of ↓1 is c. 100, which would make a column of c. 104 lines if no columns intervene between the text of → and ↓. Since 4 lines occupy a vertical space of 2 cm, a single-column written area would measure c. 4–4.5 cm broad by 50 cm deep, which looks impossibly eccentric. Unless, therefore, we do not have a continuous text but some sort of lectionary, we must suppose there to have been either two or three columns to the page. In Table 8 in Turner’s *Typology*, 101–185, a list of codices consulted, the





**4498.** EPISTLE TO THE HEBREWS I 7–12A B<sub>3.5</sub>/7(i)  
P<sup>114</sup>

3.8 × 7.1 cm

Third century  
Plates I–II

A small fragment from the bottom of the first page of the Epistle to the Hebrews. Although there is no writing visible on the ↓ side, there is every reason to suppose that the papyrus formed part of a codex. (Two papyri of *Hebrews*, P<sup>12</sup> and P<sup>13</sup>, are indeed written on rolls, but in both cases the other side of the roll is used for a different text.) It is most probable that the text of **4498** began on the → side and the ↓ side was either blank or contained only the title; for a parallel cf., e.g., P<sup>23</sup> = X **1229**, *Epistle of James*. It is written in carbon ink with a fine pointed nib in a rather small, upright, angular hand 2–3 mm high. The script is largely bilinear, but rho and upsilon drop below the line; note the contrast between broad and narrow letters, the small omicron and the flattened bow of omega. There are no ligatures or serifs. Somewhat comparable hands are I **23**, which must predate AD 295, XXXIV **2700**, on which the editor remarks ‘the hand belongs to a type common in the third century’, and XLII **3008** (although **4498** is less obviously related to the so-called Severe Style). No use is made of punctuation or breathings. The *nomen sacrum* for θεος occurs in lines 2 and 5.

If we ignore line 5, the line lengths can be supplemented within the range 36 to 42 letters (but see line 2 n.). This suggests that approximately 17 lines have been lost before the first surviving line, which would give a column of 27 lines, with a written area of approximately 10 × 18 cm. If we assume a single-column page and make the usual allowance for margins (the left-hand margin survives to 2 cm), the codex would fall within Turner’s Group 7 (c. 15 × 25 cm).

The papyrus provides no evidence for the placing of *Hebrews* within the New Testament, for which see W. H. P. Hatch, *HThR* 29 (1936) 133–55, and B. M. Metzger, *The Canon of the New Testament* (Oxford 1987), 298, with further bibliography. The surviving text is unremarkable except for line 5. In addition to the works cited in the general introduction, account has been taken of K. Wachtel, K. Witte, *Das Neue Testament auf Papyrus II. Die paulinischen Briefe, Teil 2* (Berlin–New York 1994). The only other papyrus to contain this passage is P<sup>46</sup> = P. Mich. inv. 6238 + P. Chester Beatty II, assigned to c. AD 200.

	· · · · ·	
	] αυ[του πυρος φλογα προς δε τον υιον ο θρονος]	i 7–8
	σου ο θες ε[ις τον αιωνα και η ραβδος της ευθυτητος]	
	ραβδος [της βασιλειας σου ηγαπησας δικαιοσυνην]	9
	και εμ[ισησας ανομιαν δια τουτο εχρισεν σε ο θες]	
5	σου ο θες [	10
	κατ αρχ[ας κε την γην εθεμελιωσας και εργα των χει]	



ρων σου [εἰσιν οἱ οὐρανοὶ αὐτοὶ ἀπολύνονται *cu* δε δια] 11  
 μεν[εἰς καὶ πάντες ὡς ἱμάτιον παλαιωθῇσονται]  
 κα[ι ὡσεὶ περιβόλαιον ἐλῖξεις αὐτοὺς ὡς ἱμα] 12  
 10 τι[ον

1 υἱον may of course have been abbreviated (as in  $\mathfrak{P}^{46}$ ), but see 4495→3 n.

2 Most MSS read *τον αἰωνα του αιωνος*. Spacing suggests that 4498 is likely to have followed B 33, supported by t vg<sup>ms</sup>, in omitting *του αιωνος*. *και* is included in  $\mathfrak{P}^{46}\mathfrak{N}$  A B D\* 0150. 0243. 33. 1739, but omitted by D<sup>2</sup> K L P Ψ 056. 075. 0142. 0151. 0243. 0278. 1881  $\mathfrak{M}$ t.

η ραβδος της ευθυτητος] ραβδος: so  $\mathfrak{P}^{46}\mathfrak{N}^1$  (ραβδος της ευθυτητος omitted  $\mathfrak{N}^*$ ) A B 0150. 0243. 33. 1739 *pc*; ραβδος ευθυτητος η D K L P Ψ 056. 075. 0142. 0151. 0278. 1881  $\mathfrak{M}$ .

4-5 The normal text, with no significant variants, is *εχρῖσεν  $\epsilon\epsilon$  ο  $\theta\epsilon\omicron\varsigma$  ο  $\theta\epsilon\omicron\varsigma$  σου  $\epsilon\lambda\alpha\iota\omicron\nu$   $\alpha\gamma\alpha\lambda\lambda\iota\alpha\varsigma\epsilon\omega\varsigma$   $\pi\alpha\rho\alpha$   $\tau\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$   $\mu\epsilon\tau\omicron\chi\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$  σου *και  $\epsilon\upsilon$  κατ  $\alpha\rho\chi\alpha\varsigma$* . The simplest solution would be to suppose that the writer of the papyrus has merely transposed the words *σου ο  $\theta\epsilon\varsigma$* ; but this would result in a supplement which is 5 or more letters too long for line 5 and we should have to suppose that there was some omission, e.g. of *σου* or *και  $\epsilon\upsilon$*  before *κατ  $\alpha\rho\chi\alpha\varsigma$* . It may well be that the papyrus had a hitherto unattested variant reading at this point.*

7 It is unlikely that *ουρανοὶ* was abbreviated in a text as early as this; cf. LXV 4446↓ 1-2 n.

9-10 *ὡς ἱμα]τι[ον*: so  $\mathfrak{P}^{46}\mathfrak{N}$  A B D\* 1739 vg<sup>ms</sup>; omitted by D<sup>1</sup> K L P Ψ 056. 075. 0142. 0150. 0151. 0243. 0278. 33. 1881  $\mathfrak{M}$  lat sy sa<sup>ms</sup> bo; Ath.

W. E. H. COCKLE

**4499.** REVELATION II 1-3, 13-15, 27-29, III 10-12, V 8-9, VI 5-6, VIII 3-8, I I-IX 5,  
 7-16, I 8-X 4, 8-XI 5, 8-15, I 8-XII 5, 8-10, I 2-17, XIII 1-3, 6-16, I 8-XIV 3, 5-7,  
 I 0-11, I 4-15, I 8-XV 1, 4-7

118/48(a)  
 $\mathfrak{P}^{115}$

fr. (e) 6.2 × 6.3 cm

Late third or early fourth century  
 Plates III-VIII, XI-XII

Numerous fragments from a papyrus codex provide scattered but extensive portions of the book of Revelation. The codex is of particular interest because of the relatively low number of manuscripts in the textual tradition of this book (compared to other New Testament writings), the amount of text preserved and its relatively early date.

The codex is written in a medium size, right-sloping (sometimes upright), rather informal hand, rapidly but regularly written. Although letters in the main are made separately, the hand tends to be somewhat cursive, especially alpha and omega. Delta has its descending diagonal capping the left-hand one, iota keeps normally to the base of the line, alpha is made in one movement, mu with uprights almost parallel and straight and its middle curve normally reaching the base line, omicron small and suspended; the plump theta has its cross-bar projecting to both sides; rho, phi, chi and psi reach below the lower line, sometimes kappa and upsilon as well. This manner belongs within Turner's 'formal mixed' group (*GMAW*<sup>2</sup> p. 22) or Cavallo-Maehler's 'sloping pointed majuscule' (*GBEPP* p. 4).

Informal examples of this common style are difficult to date with any precision. Among objectively datable parallels, we may compare P. Flor II 108 and 259 (Roberts, *GLH* 22a, d), from the Heroninus Archive, mid-third century; VII 1016 (Turner, *GMAW*<sup>2</sup> 84), also mid or later third century (see LVII 3882 introd.); and P. Herm. 4 (Plate 3b = Cavallo-Machler, *GBEBP* 2a), from the archive of Theophanes, c. AD 315/25. For 4499 a date in the late third century or early fourth seems likely.

The spelling shows some itacisms (*αι* for *ε* and *οι* for *υ* as well as *ει* for *ι* and *ι* for *ει*). A diaeresis appears regularly over initial iota and upsilon. Diastole must also have been regular and is still visible in *εξηλ'[[θον* (page 14, line 42), *αγ'γελ[ον* (page 16, line 129), *αγ']'γελον* (page 16, line 133) and *απηλ'[[θεν* (page 18, line 181). Punctuation is by high point or by the use of a blank space. Usually, but not always, these mark the start of a verse (it is no doubt mere coincidence that all the spaces preserved precede *καί*, since so many verses in Revelation begin with *καί*). Final nu occurring at the end of a line is often represented by a horizontal dash written over the letter. Some corrections are made by the scribe's own hand. Others seem to be the hand of a corrector, in an ink which is now brown. Cardinal numbers are normally, though not always, written as figures, and the same may apply to some instances of ordinals. The following *nomina sacra* are attested: *ιηλ*, *θυ*, *θυ*, *αωνων*, *αουου*, *πνα*, *κυ*, *ουνοου*, *ουνω*. Note R. C. Nevius, 'Papyri Witnesses to the Text of the Nomina Sacra in the Apocalypse', *Akten des 21. Int. Papyrologenkongresses* II 750–755.

The extant fragments come from nine different leaves. By reckoning the number of letters to a page, one can estimate that the first surviving fragment would have come from page 3 if the quire began with the book of Revelation, with its title on the first page probably in larger letters. For convenience of reference this assumption has been made, but it must be stressed that no evidence survives from the codex itself that the pages were numbered and so there is no proof that the page referred to as 'page 3' was indeed the third page and not a later page from a larger codex. The sheets of papyrus before folding were laid with the vertical fibres side uppermost. From pages 3 to 10 the sequence is → on the odd pages and ↓ on the even. From page 13 onwards (there are no fragments from pages 11–12) the sequence is ↓ on the odd pages and → on the even. This means that the folding of a quire of five or six sheets was done between pages 10–11 or 12–13. Considering that we have fragments from pages 23 and 24, it is easier to think that all the pages belonged to the same quire and that the folding was done between pages 12 and 13. It is not possible to know whether the codex contained only the book of Revelation or something more. The addition of a 'binio', for example, after a 'senio' would be possible, for 'biniones' occur mixed with larger gatherings (E. G. Turner, *The Typology of the Early Codex*, Philadelphia 1977, 61), but codices containing several books are also common.

On pages 15 and 16 the first and last lines of the page are preserved, and probably also on pages 13 and 14; possibly the first and last lines are also preserved on other pages. Assuming a normal text, the average number of lines to the page can be estimated

at between 33 and 36, and the average number of letters to the line between 29/30 and 43/44. The area of the written text in the most complete pages can be estimated at c.  $12.5 \times 20$  cm, but it must have been somewhat variable. A top margin of 1.5 cm, almost 1 cm below, and a margin of 2 cm to the left and 1 cm to the right on an even-numbered page are preserved. If we assume that the lower margins are to the upper ones in a proportion of 3:2 (cf. Turner, *Typology* 25), the lower margin would have been larger than the 1 cm visible, c. 2.25 cm. Thus, the codex might have had at least a size of  $15.5 \times 23.5$  cm. This format of codex would fall into Turner's Group 7 (*Typology* 19).

The scribe may have copied his text in an already bound codex. This is suggested by the different width of the written area on → and ↓, especially on some pages. The width of the pages which have the binding to the right-hand side (even pages) tends to be narrower than those which have the binding to the left-hand side (odd pages): e.g. 37 letters to the line on page 13 against 35 on page 14; 37 on page 17 against 30/1 on page 18 (but page 23 is likely to have had only 29/30 against 34 on page 24). The difficulty of writing on the right-hand side of the left-hand page if the codex is already bound could explain the difference.

So far, in the papyrological collections, there have been published six papyri of Revelation:  $\mathfrak{P}^{98}$  (second? century = P.IFAO inv. 237b = P.IFAO II 31, identified by D. Hagedorn in *ZPE* 92 (1992) 243–247),  $\mathfrak{P}^{47}$  (third century = P. Chester Beatty III),  $\mathfrak{P}^{18}$  (third/fourth century = VIII **1079**),  $\mathfrak{P}^{24}$  (fourth century = X **1230**),  $\mathfrak{P}^{85}$  (fourth/fifth century = P. Stras. inv. 1028 = *ZPE* 4 (1969) 181–182),  $\mathfrak{P}^{43}$  (sixth/seventh century = P. Lond inv. 2241 = Wadi Sarga 12), and four parchments: 0169 (fourth century = VIII **1080**), 0207 (fourth century = PSI X 1166), 0163 (fifth century = VI **848**), and 0229 (seventh/eighth century = PSI XIII 1296). To these the parchment fragment **4500** published below is to be added. With the exception of  $\mathfrak{P}^{47}$ , which contains almost eight complete chapters of the book of Revelation (ix 10–xi 3; xi 5–xvi 15; xvi 17–xvii 2) all these papyri and parchments are very fragmentary and contain only small pieces of text. The only overlaps, apart from  $\mathfrak{P}^{47}$ , are with  $\mathfrak{P}^{24}$  (v 5–8, vi 5–8),  $\mathfrak{P}^{85}$  (ix 19–x 1, 5–9), **4500** (xi 15–18) and 0207 (ix 2–15). (It is remarkable that the → side of  $\mathfrak{P}^{24}$  ends at precisely the point at which fr. (c) → of **4499** begins, especially as the two papyri are in somewhat similar hands; but this can be no more than coincidence, since the ↓ sides of the two papyri overlap.) Apart from the fragmentary parchments quoted above, there are only seven majuscules: **Σ** (01) (fourth century), **A** (02) (fifth century), **C** (04) (fifth century, which lacks i 1–2; iii 20–v 14; vii 14–17; viii 5–ix 16; x 10–xi 3; xvi 13–xviii 2; xix 5–end), **P** (025) (ninth century, which lacks xvi 12–xvii 1; xix 21–xx 9; xxii 6–end), 051 (tenth century, which lacks i 1–xi 14; xiii 2–3; xxii 8–14), 052 (tenth century, which only contains vii 16–viii 2), and 046 (tenth century).

**4499** is the earliest known witness to some sections of Revelation. It is also the most substantial papyrus to have survived apart from  $\mathfrak{P}^{47}$ . It consists of 26 fragments,



most of which, fragments (e) to (z), come from consecutive pages. Sufficient of these pages survives for it to be possible to estimate the number of lines lost between the fragments and this section has therefore been numbered continuously.

For the collation, in addition to the works cited above in the general introduction, H. C. Hoskier, *Concerning the Text of the Apocalypse* (London 1929), has been used. The supplements in the transcription, given for convenience, are from Nestle-Aland<sup>27</sup> except where indicated.

Compared to other New Testament writings, the textual tradition for the book of Revelation is unique. For a recent general description see J. K. Elliott, *JTS*, n.s. 48 (1997) 116–124. See also K. and B. Aland, *The Text of the New Testament*<sup>2</sup>, 246–7, and Josef Schmid, *Studien zur Geschichte des griechischen Apokalypse-Textes* (1955–56).

There are four main text-types:

1. A C Oecumenius 2053 2344 2351.
2.  $\aleph^a$  Andreas. The majority ( $\mathfrak{M}$ ) text which follows Andreas is denoted by  $\mathfrak{M}^A$ . P (025) usually belongs to this group.
3. Koine. The majority ( $\mathfrak{M}$ ) text which contains this text is denoted by  $\mathfrak{M}^K$ . 046 usually belongs to this group.
4.  $\mathfrak{P}^{47}\aleph^*$ .

The apparatus always cites  $\mathfrak{P}^{47}\mathfrak{P}^{85}\aleph$  A C 0207; P (025) and 046 when they differ from their text-type;  $\mathfrak{M}^A\mathfrak{M}^K$  or  $\mathfrak{M}$  (where the previous two agree). 2053 2344 2351 are cited from Nestle-Aland<sup>27</sup> (2344 is frequently illegible and therefore cannot always be cited). Evidence is not generally provided where members of a text-type disagree with their group reading. The evidence is mostly restricted to Greek witnesses. All abbreviations are those of Nestle-Aland<sup>27</sup>, except that Old Latin MS letters are prefixed by Lvt.

A full statement on the textual affinities of the papyrus will have to await a detailed comparison with the data in Schmid and other sources. But a collation of it with C suggests that it is a representative of the A C text. Variants from it occur, by category as

omission in **4499**: x 4, xii 4(?), xiii 8, 13

omission in C: x 2, 8, xii 14, xiii 6, 7, 8, 15 *bis*, xiv 1 (*semel* or *bis*), 2, 3

word order: xi 19, xii 9

wording: ix 19, xi 5, 9, 18, xiii 1(?), 11, 15, xiv 6, 20

There are also possible differences where **4499** has space too small or too large for the C text. A number of these, including many of the omissions, are evidently due to error by the scribe of one of the two MSS. There are a few places where **4499** has a different text-type. There are also places where either a correction which may be by the first hand or an error suggests that the scribe of **4499** knew or consulted a witness with a different text; these include xi 9, xiv 6, 15. One point of particular note: at xiii 18 **4499** (like C) gives the number of the Beast as 616, not 666. Irenaeus had found (and rejected) this reading in some of his MSS; **4499** is now our earliest surviving direct witness.

Pages 3-4: Fr. (a)

→

	· · · · ·	
	περιπ]ατων εν μεσω	ii 1
	τ]α εργα σου[	2
	ο]υ δυννη[	
	εαυ]τους απ[οστολους	
5	υπο]μον[ην	3

↓

	· · · · ·	
	καταν]ας κατο[ι]κ[ει αλλ εχω κατα σου ολι]	ii 13, 14
	[γα οτι εχεις] εκει κρα[τουντας την διδαχην Βαλα]	
	[αμ ος εδιδας] κεν τω [Βαλακ βαλειν σκανδαλον ενω]	
	[πιον των υι]ων ιηλ [φαγειν ειδωλοθυτα και πορ]	
5	[νευσαι ουτ]ως εχε[ις	15
	]...[	

Pages 5-6: Fr. (b)

→

	· · · · ·	
	] . [	
	]ραβδω σ[ιδηρα ως τα σκευη]	ii 27
	[τα κεραμικα συντριβε]ται αυτου[ ως καγω ειληφα]	28
	[παρα του πρς μου και δωσ]ω αυτω [τον αστερα τον]	
5	[πρωϊνον ο εχων ους ακουσατω τ]ι το [πνα	29

↓

	· · · · ·	
	πειρας]αι [.] ους τ[ους κατοικουντας]	iii 10
	[επι της γης ιδου ερχ]ομαι τα[χυ κρατει ο εχεις ινα]	11
	[μηδεις λαβη τον στε]φανον [σου	
	]γα ουτ[ο]υ[	12
5	]και[	



Pages 9–10: Frr. (c) + (d)

→

. . . . .  
 ελα]βεν το β[ιβλιον τα δ̄ ζωα και οι] v 8  
 [κδ̄ πρεσβυτεροι επε]σαν εν[ωπιον του αρνιου εχοντες εκας]  
 [τος κιθαρα]ν και φιαλας χρυ[σας γεμουσας θυμιαματων]  
 [αι ειςιν αι πρ]οσευ[χαι των αγιων και αδουσιν] 9  
 5 [ωδην καινην] λεγοντες [αξιος ει λαβειν το βιβλιον και]  
 [ανοιξαι τας σ]φραγ[ιδας αυτου οτι εσφαγης και ηγορασας]  
 [τω θω̄ εν τω α]ιμα[τι

↓

. . . . .  
 ]. [  
 οτ]ε ηνο[ιξεν vi 5  
 [λεγον]τ[ο]ς ερχο[υ] και ιδ[ον και ιδου ιππος μελας]  
 [και ο] κα[θη]με[ν]ος επ [αυτον  
 5 ] φωνη[ν εν μεσω των δ̄ ζων λεγου] 6  
 [σαν χοινηξ ci]του δη[ναριου και γ̄ χοινικες]  
 [κριθων δηναριου] και[

Pages 13–14: Frr. (e) to (i)

↓

] δω[σε]ι τα[ις προσευχαις των αγιων παντων ε] viii 3  
 [πι τ]ο θυσια[ς] τηρ[ιον το χρυσουν το ενωπιον του θρο]  
 [ν]ου και ανεβ[η ο καπνος των θυμιαματων ταις] 4  
 προσευχαις τω[ν αγιων εκ χειρος του αγγελου ενω]  
 5 πιον του θῡ [και ειληφεν ο αγγελος τον λιβανω] 5  
 τον και εγ[εμισεν αυτον εκ του πυρος του θυσια]  
 στηριου και εβαλ[εν εις την γην και εγενοντο βρον]  
 ται κα[ι] φωναι κα[ι α]ς[τραπαι και σεισμος και οι ζ̄] 6  
 αγ[γελοι] οι εχοντες τα[ς ζ̄] καλπιγγας ητοιμασαν]

- 10 εα[υτους ινα σαλ]πισω[σιν και ο πρωτος αγγελος] 7  
 [εσαλπισεν και εγ]ερετ[ο χαλαζα και πυρ μεμιγμε]  
 [να εν αιματι και εβληθη εις την γην και το τριτον]  
 [της γης κατεκαη] κα[ι το] τρι<sup>[τ]ο<sup>[ν]</sup></sup> τω[ν δενδρων κατε]  
 [καη και πας χ]ορτος [χλ]ωρος [κατεκαη και ο δευτε] 8  
 15 [ρος αγγελος ες]αλπι[σεν] και [  
 (lines 16–23 lost)  
 ] . . [  
 25 [ τρι]τον τω[ν υδατων εις] 11  
 [αψινθον και πολλοι τω]ν ανων [απεθανον εκ]  
 [των υδατων οτι επι]κρανθη[σαν και ο τεταρτος αγ] 12  
 [γελος εσαλπισεν και ε]πληγη το τ[ριτον]  
 [και το τριτον των ας]τερων [ι]ν[α σκοτισθη το]  
 30 [τριτον αυτων και η η]μερα [μη φανη το τριτον]  
 . [.] . [ νυξ ομοιως και ειδον και ηκουσα ενος α] 13  
 ετου πε[τομενου εν μεσουρανηματι λεγοντος]  
 φωνη [μεγαλη ουαι ουαι ουαι τους κατοικουντας ε]  
 πι τη[ς γης εκ των λοιπων φωνων της σαλπιγ]  
 35 γος τ[ων γ] αγγελων των μελλοντων σαλπιζειν]
- 
- ει]δον αςτερα[εκ] ix 1  
 [του ουνου πεπτωκοτα εις την γ]ην και εδοθ[η]  
 [αυτω η κλεις του φρεατος της α]βυσσου και η[νοι] 2  
 [ξεν το φρεαρ της αβυσσου και α]νεβη καπ[νος]  
 40 [εκ του φρεατος ως καπνος] κ[α]μεινου με  
 [γαλης και εσκοτωθη ο ηλιος και ο α]ηρ εκ του  
 [καπνου του φρεατος και εκ το]υ καπνου εξηλ' 3  
 [θον ακριδες εις την γην] και εδοθη [α]υτοις ε  
 [ξουσια ως εχουσιν εξ]ουσιαν οι σκο[ρπιο]ι της  
 45 [γης και ερρεθη αυτοις] ινα μ[η αδικησουσιν]  
 [τον χορτον της γης ουδε] παν [χλωρον ουδε παν]  
 [δενδρον ει μη τους ανων οιτινες ουκ εχουσι]  
 [την σφραγίδα] του θ[υ] επι των μετωπων και 5  
 [εδοθη αυτοις] ιν[α μη] αποκ[τεινωσιν] αυτους αλλ]



- 95 κ α[π]εκτα[νθησαν εν] ταις π[ληγαις ταυταις ουδε]  
 μ[ετενοησαν εκ των] εργω[ν των χειρων αυτων]  
 ιν[α] μ[η προσκυνη]ζουσι[ν τα δαιμονια και τα]  
 ειδω[λα τα χρυσα κ]αι τα α[ργυρα και τα χαλκα και]  
 τα λιθινα [και τα ξυλινα α ουτε βλέπειν δυ]  
 100 νανται ου[τε ακουειν ουτε περιπατειν και ου]  
 μετενοησαν [εκ των φονων αυτων ουτε εκ]  
 των φαρμα[κων αυτων ουτε εκ της πορνει]  
 ας αυτων ου[τε εκ των κλεμμάτων αυτων]

21

→

- [και ειδον αλλον αγγελον ισχυρον κατα]βαινῶ  
 105 [τα εκ του ουνου περιβεβλημενον νεφελ]ην και η  
 [ιρις επι της κεφαλης αυτου και το προσω]πον αυ  
 [του ως ο ηλιος και οι ποδες αυτου ως στυ]λοι πυρ[ος]  
 [και εχων εν τη χειρι αυτου βιβλαριδιον] ηνεωγμε  
 [νον και εθηκεν τον ποδα αυτου το]ν δεξιον  
 110 [επι της θαλασσης τον δε ευωνυμο]ν επι της γης  
 [και εκραξεν φωνη μεγαλη ω]ς περ λεων μοι  
 [καται και οτε εκραξεν ελαλη]σαν αι ζ̄ βροντα[ι]  
 [ημελλον γραφειν και ηκουσα] φωνην . . . [  
 [ εκ του ουνου λεγουσαν] ςφραγισον [α ελαλη]  
 115 [σαν αι ζ̄ βρονται και μη αυτα γρ]αψ[ης  
 (lines 116–124 lost)  
 125 ] . . . [  
 μετ ε]μου και λε[γουσαν υπαγ]ε λ[αβε το βι]  
 [βλαριδιον το] ηνεωγμε[νον εν τη χ]ειρι του α[γγε]  
 [λου του εστωτο]ς επι της θαλα[σσης κα]ι επι της γ[ης]  
 [και απηλθα πρ]ος τον αγ'ελ[ον λεγ]ων αυτω δ[ου]  
 130 [ναι μοι το βιβλαρ]ιδιον κ[αι λεγει μ]οι λαβε και κ[α]  
 [ταφαγε αυτο και πι]κρανε[ι σου την κοιλ]ιαν αλλ  
 [εν τω στοματι σου ε]σται γ[λυκυ ως μελ]ι και ελα  
 [βον το βιβλαριδιον] εκ τη[ς χειρος του αγ]'γγελου και  
 [κατεφαγον αυτο και ην εν τω στομ]ατι μου ως

X I

2

3

4

8

9

10





175 πρεσεν επι του[ς θεωρουντας αυτους και ηκουσαν] 12  
 [φω]νην μεγα[λην εκ του ουνου λεγουσαν αυτοις]  
 [αναβ]ατε ωδ[ε και ανεβησαν εις τον ουνον εν τη]  
 [ ] . [

→

180 [μεγας και το δεκατον της πολεως επε]ζε 13  
 [και απεκτανθησαν εν τω σεισμω ο]γο  
 [ματα ανων χιλιαδες ζ και οι λ]οιποι εμ  
 [φοβοι εγενοντο και εδωκαν ] . [ . ] . τω  
 [θω του ουνου η ουαι η δευτερ]α απηλ'  
 [θεν ιδου η ουαι η τριτη ερχ]ετ[αι τα]χυ και 14  
 [ο ζ' αγγελος εσαλπισεν και ε]γεν[ο]ν[το] 15  
 [φωναι μεγαλαι εν τω ουνω λ]εγουςαι [εγε]  
 [νετο η βασιλεια του κοσμου του] κυ ημ[ων]  
 185 [και του χρυ αυτου και βασιλε]υ[ς]ει ε[ις]  
 (lines 187-193 lost)

195 [των νεκρων κριθηναι και δου]ναι τον 18  
 [μισθον τοις δουλοις σου τοις π]ροφ[η]τα[ις]  
 [και τοις αγιοις και τοις φοβο]υμενοις τ[ο]  
 [ονομα σου τους μικρους και τους] μεγαλου[ς]  
 [και διαφθειραι τους διαφθειρ]οντ[ας τη]ν  
 [γην και ηνοιγη ο ναος του] θυ ο ε[ν]  
 200 [τω ουνω και ωφθη η κιβωτο]ς τη[ς δι]αθ[η]κης 19  
 [κης αυτου εν τω ναω αυτου και] εγενοντο φ[ω]  
 [ναι ]ι κ[αι] σ[εισμος]  
 [και χαλαζα μεγαλη και ση]μει[ο]ν με  
 [γα ωφθη εν τω ουνω γυν]η περιβεβλη  
 205 [μενη τον ηλιον και η σελ]ηνη υποκα  
 [τω των ποδων αυτης και] επι της κε  
 [φαλης αυτης στεφανος αστερω]ν [ιβ]

(line 209 lost)

Pages 19–20: Frr. (p) to (s)

↓

- καὶ βασα[νιζομενη τεκειν και ωφθη αλλο] xii 2, 3  
 210 σημειο[ν εν τω ουνω και ιδου δρακων πυρ]  
 ρος μεγ[ας εχων κεφαλας ζ̄ και κερατα ῑ]  
 [κα]ι επι τας [κεφαλας αυτου ζ̄ διαδηματα]  
 [κ]αι η ουρ[α αυτου κυρει το τριτον των αστερων]  
 [τ]ου [ο]υνου κ[αι εβαλεν αυτους εις την γην και] 4  
 215 ο δρακων ις[τηκει ενωπιον της γυναικος]  
 τη[ς] μ[ε]λ[λο]υ[σ]ης αυ[το]υ  
 της κα[τα]φαγη και ετεκεν υιον αρσεν ος]  
 μελλε[ι ποιμαινειν παντα τα εθνη εν ραβ] 5  
 [δω]ιδ[η]ρα και ηρπασθη το τεκνον αυτης]  
 220 [προ]ς το[ν θν̄ και προς τον θρονον αυτου]  
 ]. [  
 (lines 223–229 lost)  
 ]. . . [ο]υν[ω] και εβ[λη]θη ο δρακων]  
 230 [ο οφεις ο μ]εγας ο αρχαιος ο κα[λου]μενος Διαβολος] 8, 9  
 [και ο C]ατανας ο πλανων [την οικουμενην ο]  
 [λην ε]βληθη εις την γην κ[αι οι αγγελοι αυ]  
 [του μ]ετ αυτου εβληθησαν κ[αι ηκουσα φω]  
 [νην] μεγαλην εν τω [ο]υνω [λεγουσαν αρτι ε]  
 235 [γε]νετο η σωτηρια και η δυ[ναμις και η βα]  
 [σιλ]εια [το]υ θ̄ν̄ ημω[ν] και η [εξουσια  
 [ ] αυ[του] οτι εβληθη ο κατηγωρ]  
 [των αδελφων ημω]ν ο [κατηγορων αυτους ενω]  
 [πιον του θ̄ν̄ ημων η]με[ρας]  
 240 . . . . .  
 (lines 241–246 lost)

→

- . . . . . ] και ρ[ο]ν [εχει] xii 12  
 [και οτε ειδεν ο δρακων οτι εβληθ]η εις την 13  
 [γην εδιωξεν την γυναικα ητις ετ]εκεν το

250	[αρσενα και εδοθησαν τη γυναικ]ι δυο πτερυ [γες του αετου του μεγαλου ινα πετηται] εις την ε[ρη] [μον εις τον τοπον αυτης οπου τρεφε]ται εκε[ι] [καιρον και καιρους και ημισυ και]ρου απ[ο] προ [σωπου του οφεως και εβαλεν ο ο]φις εκ του στο 255 [ματος αυτου οπισω της γυναικος] ὑδω[ρ] ως [ποταμον ινα αυτην ποτα]μοφορ[η] [τον ποιηση και εβοηθησεν η γη τ]η γυναι[ι] [κι και ηνοιξεν η γη το στομα αυτης] και [κατεπιεν τον ποταμον ον εβαλεν ο δρ]ακω[ν] 260 [εκ του στοματος αυτου και ωργισθη ο] δ[ρ]α [κων (lines 262–266 lost) ] και επι τας κεφαλ[ας αυτου] [ονοματα βλασφ]ημιας και το θηριον [ο ειδον ην] [ομοιον παρδ]αλει και οι ποδες αυτο[ν ως αρκου] 270 [και το στομα α]υτου ω[ς ε]στομα λεοντο[ς και] [εδωκεν αυτω ο δ]ρακων την δυναμιν α[υτου] [και τον θρο]νον αυτου και εξουσιαν [μεγα] [λην και μια]ν <sup>εκ</sup> των κεφα[λ]ων αυτου ω[ς] [ εις [θανατον και η π]λη[γ]η] 275 [του θανατου αυτου εθερα]πρευθ[η και εθαν] [μασθη ολη η γη οπισω του] θηρι[ου] (lines 277–283 lost)	14 15 16 17  xiii 1 2 3
-----	--	--

Pages 21–22: Frr. (t) to (w)

↓

285	θν̄ βλασφ[ημησαι το ονομα αυτου και την] σκηνη[ν αυτου τους εν τω ουνω σκηνοουντας] και εδοθ[η αυτω ποιησαι πολεμον μετα των] [α]γιων κα[ι νικησαι αυτους και εδοθη αυτω ε] ξουσια ε[πι πασαν φυλην και λαον και γλωσ] σαν και [εθνος και προσκυνηουσιν αυτον παντες]	xiii 6 7 8
-----	--	------------------

- 290 οι κατοικουν[τες επι της γης ου ου γεγραπται το]  
 ον[ο]μα εν τ[ω βιβλιω της ζωης του αρνιου του]  
 [εσφαγμενο]ν [απο καταβολης κοσμου ει τις εχει] 9  
 [ους ακου]σατω [ει τις εις αιχμαλωσιαν υπαγει] 10  
 [ει τις εν μ]αχαιρ[η αποκτανθηναι αυτον εν μαχαι]  
 295 [ρη αποκτανθ]ηνα[ι ωδε εστιν η υπομονη και η]  
 [πιστις των α]γιων και [ειδον αλλο θηριον ανα] 11  
 [βαινον εκ τη]ς γης και ει[χεν κερατα β̄ ομοια]  
 [αρνιω και ε]λ[α]λει ως δ[ρακων και την εξου] 12  
 [σιαν του π]ρωτου θη[ριου πασαν ποιει ]  
 (lines 300–303 lost)  
 [πυρ ποι]η καταβα[ινειν εις την γην ενωπιον] 13  
 305 [των α]νων και πλ[ανα τους κατοικουντας επι] 14  
 [της γ]ης δια τα σημ[εια α εδοθη αυτω ποιησαι]  
 [ενω]πιον του θη[ριου λεγων τοις κατοικουσιν ε]  
 [πι] της γης π[οιησαι εικονα τω θηριω ος εχει την]  
 πληγην τη[ς μαχαιρης και εζησεν και ε] 15  
 310 δοθη αυτω δ[ουναι π̄να τη εικονι του θηριου ιν]  
 α κ[αι λ]αληση [η εικων του θηριου και ποιηση οσοι]  
 [εαν] μη [προσκυνησωσιν τη εικονι του θηριου]  
 [απ]οκτα[νθωσιν και ποιει παντας τους μικρους και] 16  
 [τους] μεγ[αλους και τους πλουσιους και τους]  
 . . . . .  
 (lines 315–319 lost)  
 → . . . . .  
 320 . . . . . ] . [ 17  
 νο]υν ψηφισ[α] 18  
 [τω τον αριθμον του θηριου αριθμο]ς γαρ ᾱνω  
 [εστιν και ο αριθμος αυτου ] . η̄ χ̄ις  
 [και ειδον και ιδου το αρνιον εστο]ς επι το ορο[ς] 19  
 325 [Cιων και μετ αυτου ρ̄μδ̄ χιλιαδε]ς εχουσα[ι] 20  
 [το ονομα αυτου και το ονομα του π̄ρς α]υτου γε  
 [γραμμενον επι των μετωπω]ν αυτων και 21  
 [ηκουσα φωνην εκ του ο̄ν̄ου ως] φωνην ῡ  
 [δατων πολλων και ως φωνην βροντης μεγα]

- 330 [λης και η φωνη ην ηκο]υσα ω[ς φωνην κι]  
 [θαρωδων κιθαριζοντω]ν εν [ταις κιθαραις]  
 [αυτων και αδουσιν ωδη]ν κ[αινην ενωπι]  
 [ον του θρονου και] ενωπιον τω[ν τεσσαρων]  
 [ζωνων και των πρε]ςβυτερων [και ουδεις εδυ]  
 335 [νατο μαθειν την] ωδην ει μ[η αι ρ̄μδ̄ χιλια]  
 [δες οι ηγορασμενοι] απο της[  
 (lines 337–340 lost)
- 34<sup>1</sup> ] ευρεθη ψ[ευδος] 5  
 [αμωμοι εισιν και ]λον ιδον αγ'γ[ελον] 6  
 [πετομενον εν μεσουρανημ]ατι εχοντα [ευαγ]  
 [γελιον αιωνιον ευαγγελικαι] τους κατοι[κουν]  
 345 [τας επι της γης και επι παν εθ]ρος και φυλ[ην]  
 [και γλωσσαν και λαον λεγων] εν φωνη μ[ε] 7  
 [γαλη φοβηθητε τον θ̄ν και δ]οτε αυτ[ω] δοξᾱ  
 [οτι ηλθεν η ωρα της κρισεως αυτ]ου [και]  
 [προσκυνησατε τω ποιησαντι το]ν ουν[ον]  
 350 [και την γην και θαλασσαν και πη]γας ῡ[δατων]  
 . . . . .  
 (lines 351–355 lost)

Pages 23–24: Frr. (x) to (z)

↓

- . . . . .  
 . . [.] . [ ]  
 . [.] . . [ ]  
 . . . . . [ ] βασανισθη] xiv 10  
 360 ςεται εν [π]υρ[ι και θειω ενωπιον αγγελων]  
 α[γ]ιω[ν] [κα]ι ενω[πιον] βα] 11  
 [σανις]μου [αυ]των ε[ις αιωνας αιωνων]  
 [αναβαινει κ]αι ουκ ε[χουσιν αναπαυσιν]  
 [ ] ημερας] και [ ]  
 (lines 364–373 lost)  
 ] . [.] . . [ ] επι] 14



- 375 [της κεφαλῆς αὐτοῦ] τ<sup>ε</sup>φανο[ν χρυσοῦν καὶ]  
 [ἐν τῇ χειρὶ αὐτοῦ δρ<sup>ε</sup>πανον [οἷον καὶ ἀλ]  
 [λος ἀγγελος ἐξηλθ<sup>ε</sup>] ἐν ἐκ τοῦ [ναοῦ]  
 [κραζῶν ἐν φωνῇ] μεγαλῇ [τῷ καθημένῳ]  
 [ἐπὶ τῆς νεφέλης] πεμψ<sup>ε</sup>[ον τὸ δρεπανον σου]  
 380 [καὶ θερισὸν ὅτι ἤλθε] ν<sup>η</sup> ὥρ[α θερισαὶ ὅτι]  
 [ἐξηρανθῇ ὁ θερισμὸς ] . ης[

(lines 382–390 lost)

→

- 391 [ ηκμασαν αἱ σταφυλα] ι α[ν]τ<sup>η</sup>[ς]  
 [καὶ ἐβάλεν ὁ ἀγγελος τὸ δρεπανον αὐτοῦ] εἰς τὴν  
 [γῆν καὶ ἐτρυνγῆσεν τὴν ἀμπελον τῆς] γῆς καὶ ἐ  
 [βάλεν εἰς τὴν ληνον τοῦ θυμοῦ τοῦ θ<sup>υ</sup>] τον με[γ]α  
 395 [καὶ ἐπατήθη ἡ ληνος ἐξώθε] ν τῆς π[ολ]εως καὶ  
 [ἐξηλθεν αἷμα ἐκ τῆς] ληνου ἀχ[ρὶ] των χ[α]  
 [λινων των ἵππων ἀπο σταδ<sup>ι</sup>ων Bχ] [καὶ εἶδον]  
 [ἀλλο σημεῖον ἐν τῷ οὐνῶ μ]εγα καὶ θ<sup>ε</sup>[αυμαστον]  
 ] . . [ . ] . [

(lines 400–411 lost)

- [ ἐφαν]ερῶθη[σαν καὶ μετὰ]  
 [ταῦτα εἶδον καὶ ἡνοί] γη ὁ ναο[ς τῆς σκηνῆς]  
 [τοῦ μαρτυρίου ἐν τῷ οὐ] νῶ καὶ ἐξῆ[λθον οἱ ζ]  
 415 [ἀγγελοι οἱ ἐχοντες τας] ζ πληγ[α]ς [ἐκ τοῦ]  
 [ναοῦ ἐνδεδυμένοι λινον] καθαρο[ν λαμπρον]  
 [καὶ περιεζωσμένοι περ] ι τα στηθ[η ζωνας]  
 [χρυσας καὶ ἐν ἐκ των δ] ζωνων [ἔδωκεν τοῖς]  
 ] . . . [

Pages 3–4: Fr. (a)

→ The expected text would require 41 letters to have been lost between lines 3 and 4 and 46 between lines 4 and 5, but noticeably fewer between lines 1 and 2 and between 2 and 3, even if we allow for the longer variants. Therefore the fragment has been left unrestored.

↓ The lateral position of the fragment is merely hypothetical.

2 Spacing suggests the papyrus included *οτι* which is omitted by C 2053 *al*.

3 *εδιδα[κεν]*: so **Σ** A C P **ℳ**<sup>A</sup> *al* vg; *εδιδαξε(ν)* 046. 1006. 1841. 2351 **ℳ**<sup>K</sup> *bo*.

*τω* [*Βαλακ*]: there are some faint traces above *τω*. It is not clear if these are in the first hand, and it is difficult to tell whether they stand for some letters (*εν* would be possible) or just for a line or mark to indicate a correction or deletion. *τω Βαλακ* is the reading of A C and some minuscules; *εν τω Βαλακ* 1. 18; 046 reads only *Βαλακ*; **Σ**\* omitted *τω Βαλακ* and **Σ**<sup>c</sup> corrects to *τον Βαλακ*; P **ℳ**<sup>A</sup> read *εν τω Βαλααμ τον Βαλ*.

6 ]...[: some traces of which the first two could be *λα*. This would suggest *Νικο]λα[των*, but the following trace is unclear and appears to have a tiny *αι* written over it (in the same hand). If the papyrus did have *Νικολαιτων* at this point, spacing suggests it omitted *των* before it (so A C 046. 1611. 1854 **ℳ**<sup>K</sup>). *των* is included by **Σ** P 2053. 2351 **ℳ**<sup>A</sup>.

Pages 5–6: Fr. (b)

This fragment belongs to a new leaf. No margins are preserved and the restoration of its lateral position is hypothetical.

→

1 ][: horizontal stroke at the level of the bottom line, which would suit delta or xi. The obvious assumption would be to supply *ε]ξ[ουcian*, but this perhaps gives too long a line.

3 *συντριβε]ται*: so **Σ** A C 2050 *pc*; *συντριβησεται* P 046 **ℳ** *lat*. Either reading is possible in the papyrus. *αυτου*: above *αυτου* a supralinear bar is visible. The papyrus may have read *αυτου* or *αυτου[ς*; but since the addition of *αυτου* or *αυτους* is not attested elsewhere, we should probably take the bar to indicate a deletion (for examples of this sort of deletion cf. Turner, *GMAW*<sup>2</sup> p. 16). The text of the Septuagint (Psalm ii 9: *ποιμανεις αυτους εν ραβδω σιδηρα, ως κεινος κεραμεως συντριψεις αυτους*), which the author of the book of Revelation is paraphrasing, might have prompted the scribe's addition of *αυτους*.

5 [*πνω*]: the left-hand part of the supralinear bar is still visible.

↓

1 [.] *ουτ τ[ουc]*: tau is almost certain. The traces above *ουc* are faint but a horizontal seems likely. This suggests dittography of *τους* and a deletion mark (see above, page 5 line 3).

2 Spacing suggests the papyrus included *ιδου* with 2014 *pc* Lvt (a); Tyc Apr. *ιδου* is omitted by **Σ** A C P 046 and most other MSS.

3–4 ] *ναου* was apparently written (though there is unexplained ink to the upper right of a); *ω* has been added above *ου*, probably by the original hand. The MSS offer *εν τω ναω* without significant variation. *ου* may be an isolated slip, under the influence of the following genitives. The spacing would allow the following reconstruction:

[*μηδεις λαβη τον στε]φανον [ου (12) ο νικων ποιησω αυ  
τον στυλον εν τω] ναου τ[ο]υ [θυ μου.*

One could explain the genitive more rationally by writing *εντος του] ναου*, an unattested variant. But that looks too long.

4–5 ] *και* [ is certain. But if we continue to restore the transmitted text, we run into difficulties:

*τον στυλον εν τω] ναου τ[ο]υ [θυ μου και εξω ου μη εξ  
ελθη επι . . . . .] και [γραφω, with an unexplained gap.*

Pages 9–10: Frr. (c) + (d)

Fragments from a new leaf; a complete leaf must have been lost between these fragments and the one preceding. There is a small gap between (c) and (d), but for the purposes of transcription I treat them as one. The lateral position of the supplements is hypothetical. The average number of letters to the line is uncertain on ↓; as restored, it is 43 on →.

→

1 *τεσσαρα* (or *δ*) is the reading of **Σ** A and most MSS; it is omitted by P **ℳ**.

2 *επε]σαν*: so **Σ** A and many minuscules (for the intrusion of the first aorist endings into the inflexion of the second aorist cf. B. G. Mandilaras, *The Verb* § 317 (17) and Blass-Debrunner-Rehkopf, *Grammatik des neutestamentlichen Griechisch*<sup>17</sup> (1990) § 81); *επεσον* 046 and many other MSS.

3 *κιθαρα]ν και φιαλας*: so **Σ** A P 046; *κιθαρας και φιαλας* **ℳ**<sup>A</sup> *vg*.

↓

2–3 After *ἡνοίξεν* the expected text is *τὴν σφραγίδα τὴν τρίτην ἡκουσα τοῦ τρίτου ζῶον λεγοντος*. There are no attested variants, apart from the reading of *τὴν τρίτην σφραγίδα* by some minuscules. This is too long for the papyrus even if we suppose that *τρίτην* and *τρίτου* were replaced by figures (cf. page 13, line 13 n.).

3 The variants attested are:

*έρχου καὶ εἶδον καὶ ἰδου ἵππος*: so A C (ιδον) P 2053.

*έρχου καὶ ἰδε καὶ εἶδον καὶ ἰδου ἵππος*: so **Σ** 2344.

*έρχου καὶ ἰδε καὶ ἰδου ἵππος*: so 046 **ℳ**<sup>K</sup>.

*έρχου καὶ ἰδου ἵππος*: so 1854.

The second would be too long and the fourth too short. Either the third or the first is possible. Since *ἰδον* for *εἶδον* (which is also read by C) is found on page 22, line 342, the first is the most likely supplement.

4 The expected reading, *ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἔχων ζυγὸν ἐν τῇ χειρὶ αὐτοῦ καὶ ἡκουσα ὡς φωνῆν*, is too long, even if the papyrus omitted *ὡς* with 046 **ℳ**<sup>K</sup>. Unfortunately **ℳ**<sup>24</sup> is lost between *καθημ[ενος]* and *καὶ ἡκουσ[α]*.

Pages 13–14: Frr. (e) to (i)

These five fragments belong to the same leaf of the codex. Again, a complete leaf has been lost between them and the preceding fragments. There are remains of 26 lines of a page which probably had 35 lines in total on side ↓ and 32 or 33 lines on →. The first line of fr. (e) is quite likely to have been the first line of the page. The lateral position of (e) and (i) is certain, as they preserve the start and ends of the lines; the other fragments are only tentatively placed. The average number of letters to the line on ↓ was 37 and on → 35. There is a substantial loss in the middle of the page between (e) and (f) + (g).

↓

1 *δω[σε]ι τα[ ]*: before tau there is a trace of a vertical, slightly curved to the left. It suggests iota rather than eta. The dimensions of the lacuna also favour *δωσει*: so **Σ** A C; *δωσει* P 046 **ℳ**; *δω* 1006. 1841. 2053 *pc*.

*τα[ ]ς προσευχαῖς*: this is the reading of most of the MSS, but 94 **ℳ**<sup>A</sup> read *τας προσευχας; των προσευχων* 1611.

7 *εβαλ[εν]*: so most authorities; *ελαβον* A; *εβαλλεν* P and a few minuscules.

7–8 *βρον[τα]ι κα[ ] φωναι κα[ ] α[ ]ς τραπεαι*: so **Σ** 046. 2351 **ℳ**<sup>K</sup>; *βρονται καὶ αστραπαι καὶ φωναι* A 052. 2344; *φωναι καὶ βρονται καὶ αστραπαι* P 2053 **ℳ**<sup>A</sup>; *βρονται καὶ αστραπαι* 1006 *pc*. The same expression (*βρονται καὶ φωναι καὶ αστραπαι*) occurs in Revelation iv 5 in a different order: *αστραπαι καὶ φωναι καὶ βρονται*, with no relevant variants.

9 *αγγελοι οἱ ἔχοντες*: so A P 046 and most of the MSS; **Σ** 2053. 2351 and a few minuscules omit *οι*. The dimensions of the lacuna suggest that *οι* is not part of *αγγελοι*.

10 *εα[ ]*: so **Σ**<sup>1</sup> P 046 **ℳ**; *αυτους* **Σ**<sup>\*</sup> A 2351 *pc*.

10–11 It is likely that the papyrus read *αγγελος* before *εσαλπικεν*, for otherwise line 10 would be too short. This is the reading supported by **ℳ**<sup>A</sup>. **Σ** A P 046 and many other MSS omit it.

13 *κα[ ] το[ ] τρι[ ]* *τ[ ] ο[ ] ν[ ]* *τ[ ] ω[ ] ν[ ]*: τ of *τρι* corr. from γ. It seems that the scribe first wrote *τρίτον* as a figure, i.e. *κα[ ] το[ ] γ' τ[ ] ω[ ] ν[ ]* *δενδρων*; then gamma was modified by a corrector to tau, and rho and iota were added under the horizontal of the former gamma (these corrections are in ink now brown); finally, *τον* was written above the line. Ordinal numbers are occasionally written as figures in **ℳ**<sup>47</sup>.

26–27 The supplement between these two lines seems slightly too short. The readings *ἐπὶ τῶν ὑδάτων* (so A and 1597) or *ἀπο τῶν ὑδάτων* (so 1854 and a few minuscules) instead of *ἐκ τῶν ὑδάτων* would not be enough to account for the discrepancy. No other variants are attested.

28–29 All other witnesses read *το τρίτον τοῦ ἡλίου καὶ το τρίτον τῆς σελήνης καὶ το τρίτον τῶν ἀστερων*. The supplement is clearly too long, even if we assume that here again the scribe wrote γ' for *τρίτον*. Possibly the scribe jumped from the first *καὶ το τρίτον* to the second and omitted *καὶ το τρίτον τῆς σελήνης* through homoiarcton.

29 *[ ] ν[ ]*: the nu is very doubtful.

30–31 *ἡ ἡμέρα [ ]* *μη φανῇ το τρίτον*: so most of the authorities (A reads *τετάρτον* for *τρίτον*). The position of *ἡμέρα* in the line probably excludes *το τρίτον αὐτῆς μη φανῇ ἡ ἡμέρα* which is the reading of 046. 2351 **ℳ**<sup>K</sup>.

31 *[ ]*: the traces are so faint that no reading can be suggested with confidence. We expect *αὐτῆς καὶ ἡ* before *νῦξ*.

31–32 *α[ ]* *ε[ ]* *του*: so **Σ** A 046 **ℳ**<sup>K</sup>; *αγγελου* P **ℳ**<sup>A</sup>.

33 It is impossible to tell whether the papyrus omitted the third *ουαι* with 2329 *al*.

→

It is very unlikely that a line has been lost between the foot of the preceding page and the top of this, although the distribution of the letters between lines 35 and 36 is uncertain. There would perhaps be room in line 36 to restore *και ο πεμπτος αγγελος εσαλπικεν και* before *ειδον* (or *ιδον*), which would allow Chapter ix to begin at the top of a new page, if *πεμπτος* were written *ε'*.

36 *ειδον*: A 046 and some minuscules have *ιδον*; **ℵ** P and most of the MSS read *ειδον*. The papyrus may well have read *ιδον*, cf. page 22, line 342.

*αστερα*: so most of the authorities; *αστερας*: **ℵ\*** (**ℵ<sup>c</sup>**: *αστερα*).

38–39 *και ηνοιξεν*: so A P **ℳ<sup>A</sup>**; *και ηνοιξεν το φρεαρ της αβυσσου* is omitted (through homoioteleuton) by **ℵ** 046. 2053 **ℳ<sup>K</sup>**.

39 *καπ[νος]*: omitted by 0207.

40–41 *κ[α]μινου* (l. *καμινου*) *με[γαλης]*: so **ℵ** A P **ℳ<sup>A</sup>**; *καμινου καιομενης* 046. 2351 **ℳ<sup>K</sup>**; *καμινου μεγαλης καιομενης* 2053 Lvt (gig) <sup>sy<sup>ph</sup></sup>. The supplement *εκ του φρεατος ως καπνος* is rather short, but the addition of *της αβυσσου* after *εκ του φρεατος* (so 1841) would make the line too long. Apart from the omission of *ως* in A, no other variants are attested.

41 *εκ του*: so most of the MSS; *εκ του καπνου του φρεατος και* is omitted by **ℵ\*** Lvt (h) <sup>vg<sup>ms</sup></sup> (homoiarcton).

43 *[α]υτοις*: so **ℵ** 046 *pc*; *αυταις* A P 0207 **ℳ**. This suggests that the papyrus is likely to have read *αυτοις* (rather than *αυταις*) in line 45 also.

48 *του θ[ε]*: so **ℵ** A P 046 and most of the MSS; omitted by **ℳ<sup>A</sup>**. The suprascript bar over *θ* is no longer visible.

48–49 It is uncertain whether the papyrus read *αυτων* after *επι των μετωπων* with 046 2053 2351 **ℳ<sup>K</sup>**; 0207 reads *επι του μετωπου αυτου*. **ℵ** A P read *επι των μετωπων* without *αυτων*.

50 *βασανισθω[ν]*: so 046 2351 **ℳ<sup>K</sup>**; *βασανισθονται* **ℵ** A P and many minuscules.

51 and 57 The traces are too exiguous to attempt any reconstruction.

61 The omission of *ως θωρακας* (so 0207. 1006. 1611 *pc* Lvt (gig)) would give too short a line.

64–65 *κεντρ[α] και [εν ταις ουραις αυτων η εξουσια αυ]των*: so **ℳ<sup>A</sup>** 046 (0207) 2053 (2344 2351); *κεντρα ην εν ταις ουραις αυτων και η εξουσια αυτων* (1854) **ℳ<sup>A</sup>**; *κεντρα εν ταις ουραις αυτων εξουσιαν εχουσιν του* **ℳ<sup>K</sup>**.

66 *μηνας* ]*ε*: the expected supplement would be *μηνας πεντε εχουσιν*. Before the epsilon of *επ αυτω* (ν) there is almost certainly another epsilon, which does not have a dash over it and therefore is not *ε* for *πεντε*. *πεντε* in full would only be possible if we assume the omission of *εχουσιν*. This is unattested and would in any case make the line rather short; reading *εχουσι μηνας πεντ]ε* would make it rather long. Perhaps the papyrus read *ε* followed by *εχουε]ε* for *εχουσαι*; cf. *αιχου[σαι* on page 15, line 93. *εχουσαι* is the reading of 046 **ℳ<sup>K</sup>**. There are, however, no other attested final itacisms of *ε* for *αι*.

66–67 *επ αυτω* || *βασιλεα*: so **ℳ<sup>A</sup>** 046 and many minuscules, *vg bo*; *εαυτων τον βασιλεα* **ℵ** 0207; *βασιλεα επ αυτων* 046 and many minuscules, *sy*.

67–68 Below *μααν*, *τω* is clearly visible. It seems certain that the fragment belongs to the lowest right part of the text. *επ αυτω* (ν) in line 66 must be the end of a line (as the dash for the final *nu* proves). However, between this and the first word of the next page (of which the top line is preserved), *Εβραι[στι]*, the expected text, *βασιλεα τον αγγελον της αβυσσου ονομα αυτω*, would exactly fill *one* line, not two. Should we therefore assume that *τω* is part of the last word *αυτω* and that the earlier part of line 68 was blank? The distinct way in which the scribe made the initial tau (with a prolongation of the bottom part of the vertical to the left; see for example the tau of *τα* in line 99) might suggest that here tau is at the beginning of the line, as if the scribe copied his text in an already bound codex (with no possibility of extending the line further to the right). Possibly he wanted to keep the same number of lines to the page as in the original from which he was copying. This, however, would be rather odd, and in principle it ought not to have been very difficult for a scribe to add only two letters between the margin and the binding. The alternative is to suppose that the scribe copied line 67 again by mistake, perhaps misled by *επ αυτω* in the previous line. He might have started again with *βασιλεα* and on this occasion finished the line with *αυτω*.

There is insufficient room for the papyrus to have followed A in reading *βασιλεα τον αρχοντα της αβυσσου τον αγγελον ονομα αυτω*.

67–69 The variants are: *ονομα αυτω Εβραιστι* A P 046 and most other MSS; *ω ονομα αυτω Εβραιστι* **ℵ**; *ω ονομα Εβραι(ε)στι* **ℳ<sup>A</sup>** 2344. The papyrus did not omit *αυτω*; whether it omitted *ω* is uncertain.



Pages 15–16: Frr. (j) to (l)

Three fragments belonging to the same leaf. After (j) several lines are lost. Between (k) and (l) there is a gap of almost 2 cm. These fragments provide us with the most useful information about the format of the codex. The first and last lines of the page are preserved as well as some of the margins: 2 cm on the left, 1.5 cm on the top and 0.5 cm on the lower margin of ↓. The page probably had 34–35 lines on each side. The average number of letters to the line is 34 on ↓ and 37–38 on →.

↓

70 *εχει ο Α*[πολλων: the letter after omicron is damaged to the right, but alpha is almost certain. It is not possible to read *εχει ον[ομα Απολλων* (so  $\mathfrak{P}^{47}$   $\mathfrak{N}$  2344) instead of the majority reading *ονομα εχει Απολλων*. The number of letters to the line also excludes this alternative reading. The insertion of the article is supported only by a few minuscules and versions: Hoskier II 247 notes his pairs 81–204 [2038, 2595 Gregory-Aland] and 228–9 [1746, 1740 GA], and 250 [1248(!) GA] (the last three from his Complutensian family); *sah boh* ('He who destroyeth') *arm* 4.

71 *ερχετ[αι]*: so  $\mathfrak{P}^{47}$   $\mathfrak{N}^*$  A *pc*; *ερχονται*  $\mathfrak{N}^1$  046<sup>c</sup> 0207 2053 2344  $\mathfrak{M}^A$ . The line as restored is probably too long, but the omission of *μετα ταυτα* (so 2053<sup>bc</sup>; Prim) would make it too short. The papyrus may have had one of the other attested omissions, either *και* (so  $\mathfrak{P}^{47}$   $\mathfrak{N}$  2344), or *ετι* (so 046<sup>\*</sup>  $\mathfrak{M}^A$ ), or *εκτος* may have been written *ς'* (as it is in  $\mathfrak{P}^{47}$ ).

72–73 *μιαν εκ των δ̄*] *κερατων*: there would not have been room for *τεσσαρων* to have been written in full, but in any case it is usual in this papyrus for cardinal numbers to be written as figures. It is therefore impossible to say whether the papyrus had *μιαν εκ των τεσσαρων κερατων* with P 046  $\mathfrak{M}$  or whether it omitted *τεσσαρων* with  $\mathfrak{P}^{47}$   $\mathfrak{N}^1$  A 0207. 2053. 2344 (the phrase is omitted in  $\mathfrak{N}^*$ ).

74 The number of letters to the line suggests that in this already short line *εκτω* was not omitted (as in A 0207) nor written as a figure.

75 It is possible that the papyrus omitted  $\deltā$  with  $\mathfrak{P}^{47}$ .

76–77 *επι τω ποταμω τω μεγαλω Ευ]φρατη*: *επι του ποταμου του μεγαλου Ευφρατου*  $\mathfrak{P}^{47}$ .

77 *ελυ[θησαν*: spacing suggests that *ελυ[πηθησαν* (so A) is less likely.

78 *εις την [ωραν και ημεραν*: so  $\mathfrak{P}^{47}$  A P  $\mathfrak{M}^A$  vg; *και ημεραν* is omitted by  $\mathfrak{N}$  *pc*. The omission would give too short a line; *εις την ωραν και εις την ημεραν* (so 046. 2351  $\mathfrak{M}^K$ ) is probably too long.

90–91 *]των*: all MSS except  $\mathfrak{P}^{47}$  read *στοματων αυτων*;  $\mathfrak{P}^{47}$  omits *αυτων*. The papyrus could have had either reading.

91 *η γαρ εξουσια*: the size of the lacuna would probably not permit *ην γαρ η εξουσια*, which is the reading of  $\mathfrak{P}^{47}$ .

91–92 *εκ του στο]ματος*: this reading is not attested elsewhere. All other MSS read *εν τω στοματι*. There is no doubt the papyrus had *στοματος* and it therefore seems reasonable to supply *εκ του* before this, which exactly suits the space available.

*κ]αι εν ταις [ουραις αυτων*: so  $\mathfrak{N}$  A C P 046; omitted by  $\mathfrak{M}^A$ .

93 *γαρ ουραι . [ ο]φειν*: after *ουραι* there are traces of a curve, probably belonging to an alpha or omicron. The expected reading is *ουραι αυτων ομοιαι* (or *ομοιοι* 2053 *pc*) *οφειν*, but there does not seem to be space for two words between *ουραι* and *οφειν*. C\* omits *ομοιαι*.

*αιχου[cai* (l. *εχου[cai*): so most of the MSS. *εχουσαι*  $\mathfrak{N}^*$  P 2053 *al*; *εχουσιν* C\*. There are some traces of ink above *αι* which might be read as *ε*.

95 There is insufficient space for the papyrus to have followed  $\mathfrak{P}^{47}$  in inserting *αυτων* before *ταυταις*.

*ουδε*: also possible is *ου*, the reading of C 2351  $\mathfrak{M}^K$ .

97 *προσκυνη]ς̄οῡς̄ι* [ν: *προσκυνησουσιν*  $\mathfrak{P}^{47}$   $\mathfrak{N}$  A C *pc*; *προσκυνησωσιν* P 046  $\mathfrak{M}$ . It is probable that the omega is in the first hand.

97–98 *και τα]*ειδω[λα: omitted by  $\mathfrak{P}^{47}$ . Compared to the previous line (34 letters) and the next one (33 letters), line 98 is perhaps rather long (37 letters). The omission of *και τα χαλκα* (so  $\mathfrak{M}^K$ ), however, would make the line too short.

99 The omission of *τα* before *ξυλινα* (so  $\mathfrak{P}^{47}$   $\mathfrak{P}^{85\text{vid}}$ ) would probably give too short a line.

99–100 *δυ]*νανται: so  $\mathfrak{P}^{85}$   $\mathfrak{N}$  A C P 046<sup>\*vid</sup>; *δυναται*  $\mathfrak{P}^{47}$  1611  $\mathfrak{M}^K$ .

102 *φαρμα[κων*: this is the reading of  $\mathfrak{P}^{47}$   $\mathfrak{N}$  C  $\mathfrak{M}^K$ , but A 046 2053 2344 2351  $\mathfrak{M}^A$  read *φαρμακειων*. Either could have been the reading of the papyrus.

103 *ου[τε εκ των κλεμμάτων αυτων*: omitted by  $\mathfrak{P}^{47}$ .



→

104–105 The average number of letters to the line suggests that the papyrus did not omit *αλλον* with P 2053 and  $\mathfrak{M}^K$ .

105 *η*: so  $\mathfrak{P}^{47}$   $\mathfrak{N}^*$   $\mathfrak{N}^c$  A C 046; omitted by  $\mathfrak{N}^1$  P 2053  $\mathfrak{M}^A$  sa.

107 *τυ]λοι πυρ[ο]*: the papyrus is damaged and only the lower part of the line remains visible. The supplement is rather long.

108 The supplement is again on the long side in comparison with most other lines. Instead of *βιβλαριδιον* the papyrus may have read *βιβλιον* with  $\mathfrak{P}^{47 \text{ vid}}$  and 046.

108–109 *] ηνεωγμε[νον*: so  $\mathfrak{P}^{47}$   $\mathfrak{N}$  C P; *ανεωγμενον* 046; it is omitted by A bo.

109 *το]ν δεξιον*: omitted by C.

111 The supplement is shorter than would be expected. The papyrus may have added *ω* before *φωνη*; this is written in  $\mathfrak{N}^*$  but deleted by  $\mathfrak{N}^c$ .

111–112 *μοι[καται* (l. *μυκαται*): all MSS read *μυκαται* with the exception of C, which also reads *μοικαται*, and  $\mathfrak{P}^{47}$ , which reads *μυχαται*.

*αι ζ βροντα[ι]*:  $\mathfrak{P}^{47}$  omits ζ.

After *βρονται* the papyrus omitted *τας εαυτων φωνας και οτε ελαλησαν αι ζ βρονται* with 149. 385. 336. 2015 *al.* (homoioteleuton).

113 There is insufficient room for the papyrus to have followed  $\mathfrak{P}^{47}$  in adding *αυτα* after *ημελλον*.

113–114 It is difficult to imagine what happened between *φωνην* and *εφραγισον*. In the papyrus there is space for about 28 letters, but the attested text is *εκ του ουρανου λεγουσαν* (*φωνης* and *λεγουσης*  $\mathfrak{P}^{47}$ ), which would need only 18 letters as *ουρανον* would have been written *ουνοου*. Since after the nu there are traces of a horizontal on the upper part of the line and in this papyrus this could indicate a deletion (see above page 5, line 3), we must probably assume that the scribe made a mistake.

114–115 *α ελαλησαν*: or *οσα ελαλησαν* with  $\mathfrak{P}^{47}$ .

115 *μη αυτα γρ]αψ[ης*: so most of the MSS including P; *μη αυτας γραψης*  $\mathfrak{P}^{47}$ ; *μετα ταυτα γραφεις*  $\mathfrak{M}^A$ .

126 *και λε[γουσαν*: so  $\mathfrak{P}^{85}$   $\mathfrak{N}$  A C P 046 and some minuscules; *λεγουσα* 2351  $\mathfrak{M}^K$ .

127 The space available between *λαβε* and *ηνεωγμενον* suggests that the supplement *το βιβλιον το*, the reading of A C 1006. 2053 *pc lat*, is too short. Of the alternative readings, *βιβλαριδιον* ( $\mathfrak{N}$  P 2344 2351 *al.*), *βιβλιδαριον* (046  $\mathfrak{M}$ ) and *βιβλαριον* (2329), the papyrus is most likely to have read *βιβλαριδιον* (cf. line 130).

*το] ηνεωγμε[νον*: so  $\mathfrak{P}^{85}$   $\mathfrak{N}$  A C P and some minuscules; *το ανεωγμενον*  $\mathfrak{P}^{47}$  046 and many minuscules.

*εν τη χ]ειρι*: omitted by C.

129 *απηλθα*: *απηλθον*, the reading of C, is also possible.

129–130 *δ[ου]ναι*: so  $\mathfrak{P}^{47}$   $\mathfrak{N}$  A C 046; *δ[ο]* (so 2053. 2329  $\mathfrak{M}^A$ ) would probably make the following line too short.

130 *βιβλαρ]ιδιον*: so A<sup>c</sup> C P 2351 *al.*; *βιβλιον*  $\mathfrak{P}^{47}$   $\mathfrak{N}$  2053; *βιβλαριον* A<sup>\*</sup>; *βιβλαρ[*  $\mathfrak{P}^{85}$ ; *βιβλιδαριον* 046  $\mathfrak{M}$ .

130–131 *λαβε και κ[α]ταφαγε αυτο*: the papyrus did not follow  $\mathfrak{P}^{47}$   $\mathfrak{P}^{85}$   $\mathfrak{N}^*$  and 2344 in reading *λαβε αυτο και καταφαγε*.

131 *την κοιλ]ιαν*: this is the reading of most of the MSS, but A 2351 read *καρδιαν*.

135 *εγε]μ[ι]cθη*: so  $\mathfrak{N}^*$  Prim; *επικρανθη*  $\mathfrak{P}^{47}$  and most authorities.

136 Spacing suggests that the papyrus did not follow  $\mathfrak{N}^1$  in adding *πικριας* after *κοιλια μου*  $\mathfrak{P}^{47}$ .

138 *καλαμ]ος ομοιος ρα[βδω*: *κ]αλαμονος ραβδω*  $\mathfrak{P}^{47}$ .

Pages 17–18: Fr. (m) to (o)

Three fragments belonging to the same leaf. The average number of letters to the line is 36–37 on ↓. On → the width of the area of written text is strikingly narrower. The average number of letters to the line is here only 30–31. Again this may suggest that the scribe copied the text in a codex which had already been bound. Assuming a normal text, this would suggest that some 7 lines have been lost on each side between fr. (m) + (n) and fr. (o); in which case the page probably had 36 lines on ↓ and 34 on →. Top and bottom margins are lost; the left margin partially survives in lines 170–172 and the right margin, which is sizeable, in lines 176–182. Between fr. (m) and (n) there is a short gap.

↓

141 *τω κα[ι]*: the traces of the first 3 letters are very damaged, but the lower part of an omega seems almost certain.

141–143 The text we would expect at this point, judging by the length of lines preserved elsewhere on this page, is something like this:

τω κα[ι την αυλην την εξωθεν του ναου εκβαλε]  
εξωθεν [και μη αυτην μετρησης οτι εδοθη τοις]  
εθνecin κ[αι]

Thus αυτην occurring at this point does not fit the expected reconstruction (the reading is certain). The attested variants are the omission of την αυλην (P<sup>47</sup>), εωθεν for the first εξωθεν (N al), εω (N\*), εξω (P<sup>47</sup> 046 M<sup>K</sup>) or εωθεν (P) for the second, and the addition of και after εδοθη (P<sup>47</sup> N\*). None of these is enough to explain what the papyrus might have read.

143 πατηουσιν: μετρηουσιν, the reading of A, is also possible.

145–146 περιβεβλη[μ]ενοι: so N<sup>c</sup> C; περιβεβλημενους N\* A P 046.

147 [λυ]χνιαι [αι ε]νω[πιον]: so A C P 046; αι is omitted by N 1611 2351 al. Although αι falls in the gap between the two fragments, the reading on the back suggests that there is enough space for it to be included.

148 θελ[ει]: this is the reading of N A C P 046 and most of the MSS, but P<sup>47</sup> pc read θελησει.

150 και ει τ[ις θελησει: και η τις θελησει N\*; και η τις θελει C; και ει τις θελησει P<sup>47</sup> al.

160 πνικω: for this abbreviation see A. H. R. E. Paap, *Nomina sacra*, 103. Spacing suggests the word was abbreviated here.

161 The supplement is rather long; it is possible that the papyrus omitted και after οπου with P<sup>47</sup> N<sup>1</sup> M<sup>A</sup> (but not P) or αυτων with P<sup>47</sup>, or εσταυρωθη may have been written as a *nomen sacrum*.

163 τα [πτωματα: so P M<sup>A</sup>; το πτωμα P<sup>47</sup> N A C 046 and some minuscules. The line seems too short, unless ημερας γ was written in full. κα[ι] written above τα seems to be in the hand of the corrector, but no variants are attested.

165 εις μ[νημειον]: this is the reading of C pc. Line length suggests that the papyrus read something longer than εις μνημα, the reading of N\* A P 046. Other variants are εις μνηματα N<sup>2</sup> pc; εις μνημεια 1611 pc.

166 [ε]πι της [γ]ης: the high point might have been misplaced; it would be more suitable after επι της γης in line 169.

166–167 The number of letters to the line suggests the supplement ευφραινονται (so P<sup>47</sup> N A C P and many minuscules) rather than ευφρανθησονται (so 046 M<sup>K</sup>).

167 π[εμψουσιν]: so N<sup>c</sup> A C; πεμπουσιν N\* P 2344; δωουσιν 046 and some minuscules.

167–168 [ουτοι]οι β[ε] προφηται: so A C P 046; the space before προφηται in line 168 requires 3 letters, which makes it very unlikely that the papyrus followed N 2344 in reading ουτοι οι προφηται οι β, or that it omitted ουτοι before οι with P<sup>47</sup>.

169 Spacing suggests the papyrus agreed with C in adding το before ημιν; other MSS omit.

170 ε[ις]ηλθεν εκ του θυ: so C; other MSS read εκ του θυ ειςηλθεν, which is equally possible.

αυτοις: this, the reading of C P 2053 al, best suits the available space. εν αυτοις A 2351 al; εις αυτους P<sup>47</sup> N M<sup>K</sup>.

171–172 επε[π]εσεν: this is the reading of A C P, but επεσεν P<sup>47</sup> N 046 2053 M<sup>K</sup>.

172 επι του[ς] θεωρουντας: so P<sup>47</sup> N A 046 and most minuscules; επι των θεωρουντων C P pc.

173 [φω]νην μεγα[λην] εκ του ουνου λεγουσαν: so A 046 2053 2351 M<sup>K</sup>; φωνης μεγαλης and λεγουσης P<sup>47</sup> N C P and some minuscules. It is not likely that the papyrus omitted αυτοις after this, with A pc.

174 αναβ[η]ατε: so P<sup>47</sup> N A C P 2351 pc; αναβητε 046 M.

175 ].[: Assuming an average of 36–37 letters to the line we would expect to find here traces of νεφελη. However, the horizontal stroke above the line suggests the dash of a numeral, a *nomen sacrum* or perhaps a mark of deletion. The trace of ink below the stroke looks like part of epsilon or nu.

Between line 174 and line 177 (as restored) there is room for two lines. The page break must therefore have come between lines 175 and 176.

→

179–180 εμ[ε]φοβοι: so most of the MSS; εν φοβω N 2351.

180 ].[.]. τω: before τω traces of something coming upwards from the left and joining a vertical. The expected reading is δοξαν, but the traces do not seem to match it.

181–182 απηλ[λ]θεν: so P<sup>47</sup> and most authorities; παρηλθεν N pc.

182 ιδου η ουαι η τριτη ερχ[ε]ται: this is the reading of A C P 2053 2351 M<sup>A</sup>; ιδου ερχεται η ουαι η τριτη P<sup>47</sup>vid N 2344 pc; η ουαι η τριτη ιδου ερχεται 046 M<sup>K</sup>.

183 ο ἄγγελος: A omits ο, but the supplement would still be too long unless ἐβδομος was written as a figure (as it is in  $\mathfrak{P}^{47}$ ).

184 λ]εγουσαι: so  $\mathfrak{P}^{47}$   $\mathfrak{N}$  C P 051 2344  $\mathfrak{M}^A$ ; λεγοντες A 046 2053 2351  $\mathfrak{M}^K$ .

194 κ]αιρ[ος]: C reads κληρος.

197 τοις αγιοις και τοις φοβο]υμενοις: so  $\mathfrak{N}$  C P 046; τοις αγιοις και τους φοβουμε[νους  $\mathfrak{P}^{47}$ ; τοις αγιοις τοις φοβουμενοις 051. 1. 1854 *al*; τους αγιους και τους φοβουμενους A (2351) *pc*.

198 τους μικρους και τους] μεγαλου[ς]: so  $\mathfrak{P}^{47}$   $\mathfrak{N}^*$  A C 2344 2351 *pc*; τοις μικροις και τοις μεγαλοις  $\mathfrak{N}^2$  P 046  $\mathfrak{M}$ .

199 διαφθειρ]ον 'τ' ας: so  $\mathfrak{P}^{47}$   $\mathfrak{N}$  A 046; διαφθειραντας C 051 2344 *pc*; φθειροντας P 1. Although the fibres of the papyrus are damaged, it seems that the scribe forgot the tau and later inserted it between nu and alpha.

200 ο ε[ν]: so A C P; ο is omitted by  $\mathfrak{P}^{47}$   $\mathfrak{N}$  046 051  $\mathfrak{M}$ . The supplement at the left is short, but no doubt a gap was left before και at the start of a new verse.

201 The supplement is again short and it would make little difference if the papyrus read εδοθη with C for ωφθη.

202 Instead of the first αυτου the papyrus may have read του  $\overline{\kappa\upsilon}$  with  $\mathfrak{P}^{47}$  2344  $\mathfrak{M}^K$  or του  $\overline{\theta\upsilon}$  with  $\mathfrak{N}$ , but all these readings imply a rather long supplement. Possibly the scribe omitted the first αυτου (so Prim.).

202–203 After εγενοντο the expected text is αστραπαι και φωναι και βρονται. But phi seems fairly clear on the papyrus and the letter is certainly not alpha. Spacing requires more than just φωναι και βρονται. Probably the papyrus altered the word order, and read either φ[ωναι και αστραπαι και βροντα]ι or φ[ωναι και βρονται και αστραπα]ι.

203 κ[αι ς]εισμος: so  $\mathfrak{N}$  A C P; omitted by 046  $\mathfrak{M}^K$ .

208 [ιβ: the left end of a supralinear bar can be seen. There would be room for και after this at the end of the line, but it is more probable that it stood in the next line, now lost. This line is more likely to have been at the foot of this page rather than at the top of the next.

Pages 19–20: Fr. (p) to (s)

The leaf may have had 37 lines on both ↓ and →, but this is uncertain as both top and bottom margins are lost. The average number of letters to the line is 31 on ↓ and 30 on →. Part of a left and of a right margin is visible in fr. (p). The lateral position of fr. (r), and in consequence that of fr. (s), is uncertain; on fr. (s) see further lines 237–238 n.

↓

211–212 The papyrus could have read either πυρ]]ρος (so  $\mathfrak{P}^{47}$   $\mathfrak{N}$  2053) or πυρος (so C 046). μεγας πυρρος is read by A P 051, and μεγας πυρος by 2351 and a few other witnesses.

213 The papyrus is not likely to have agreed with  $\mathfrak{P}^{47}$  in omitting αυτου.

214 The supplement is somewhat long and no variants are attested. It is again likely that the scribe wrote γ' for τριτον (cf. page 13, line 13).

216 The MSS are divided between εστηκεν ( $\mathfrak{P}^{47}$   $\mathfrak{N}$  A P 046 and most of the minuscules), εστηκει (C) and εστη (14. 92). It is most probable that the papyrus read ἔστηκει for the pluperfect εἰστηκει.

217 We expect μελλουσης τεκειν ινα οταν τεκη το τεκνον αυτης, which is too long and there are no attested omissions. Possibly the papyrus omitted οταν τεκη.

230 ], .[: the traces are too faint for any attempt at reconstruction.

ο]υυ[ω]: the suprascript bar is no longer preserved.

231 [ο οφικ ο μ]εγας ο αρχαιος: so 1006. 1841 *pc*; ο μεγας ο οφικ ο αρχαιος: most MSS; ο μεγας οφικ:  $\mathfrak{N}$  *pc*; ο οφικ ο μεγας  $\mathfrak{P}^{47}$ .

232 και Κατανας  $\mathfrak{P}^{47}$ .

233 γην κ[αι: the traces are very faint, but the small serif of the vertical to the left suggests kappa. There is a space between the nu of γην and the following vertical, although we are not at the start of a verse.

233–4 αγγελοι αυτου μ]ετ αυτου: first αυτου omitted by  $\mathfrak{P}^{47}$  and μετ αυτου omitted by 051  $\mathfrak{M}^A$ .

237–238 The expected reading is η εξουσια (σωτηρια  $\mathfrak{P}^{47}$ ) του  $\overline{\chi\rho\upsilon}$  ( $\overline{\kappa\upsilon}$  C) αυτου, which is much too short. The possibility has been considered of moving the tiny fragment (s) to the left to join with the trace below the ει of βασιλ]εια, reading αυτ[ου; but this does not suit the following line nor the suggested reconstruction of the → side (lines 275–276), and, most importantly, it does not fit well physically at this point on the ↓ side.



238–239 The papyrus may have agreed with  $\mathfrak{P}^{47}$  and C in reading *κατηγορος* for *κατηγωρ* and with C in reading *αυτων* for *αυτους*.

240 *η]με[ρα*: the traces are very faint. If these are well read and (s) has been placed correctly (see above), it is likely that the papyrus included *ημων* after *του θεου* with the majority of MSS, and did not omit it with 1 *al.*

→

247 *καιρ[ο]ν*: the traces are very faint and the reading is only tentative.

248 *ο δρακων οτι εβληθη]*: this is the reading of  $\mathfrak{N}^*$  and most MSS; *οτι εβληθη ο δρακων*  $\mathfrak{N}^c$ .

250–251 *τη γυναικ]ι δυο πτερν[γες*: this is the reading of  $\mathfrak{P}^{47}$  (*πτερνγας*)  $\mathfrak{N}$  046. 2344  $\mathfrak{M}^k$ . A C P 051 2053  $\mathfrak{M}^A$  add *αι* after *γυναικι*. Since the sequence alpha-iota would probably have preserved part of the tail of the alpha linked to the iota, the papyrus is likely to have omitted *αι*, which also suits the spacing better.

251 The supplement at the left seems too long for the line. Omitting *του* in *του αετου* (so  $\mathfrak{N}$ ) would help, although the supplement is still long.

253 *και ημιν και]ρον*: omitted by C.

254 *εκ: απο*  $\mathfrak{P}^{47}$ .

256 The supplement expected is *ποταμον ινα αυτην ποτα-*, which is much too short. It does not help to read *ταυτην* for *αυτην* with 051  $\mathfrak{M}^A$ . C reads *ινα ποιηση αυτην ποταμοφορητον*. This would solve the problem in line 256, but it would leave the next line too short (unless we suppose that there was a repeat of *ποιηση* in the papyrus).

258 The papyrus probably read *η γη το στομα*.  $\mathfrak{P}^{47}$  omits *η γη*.

268 Instead of *ονοματα* the papyrus may well have read *ονομα* with  $\mathfrak{P}^{47}$  and C.

269 The supplement at the right seems too long, but no omissions are attested.

270 *λεοντο[ς*: so  $\mathfrak{P}^{47}$  A C P 046; *λεοντων*  $\mathfrak{N}$  2351 *pc*.

273 *εκ' των κεφα[λ]ων*: this is the reading of  $\mathfrak{P}^{47}$   $\mathfrak{N}$  A C P; *εκ* is omitted by 046\* 2053  $\mathfrak{M}^A$ . It seems that the correction was made by the scribe himself.

273–274 Between *αυτου* and *ε]ς* we expect simply *ως εσφαγμενην*, but there is room for some 16 letters; reading *ω[κει* for *ω[ς*, with 046 and many minuscules, does not entirely solve the problem.

274–275 *π]λη[γη]*: the lambda is doubtful, but *πληγη* is what we expect at this point.

Pages 21–22: Frr. (t) to (w)

Four fragments from a new leaf. Between fr. (t) and fr. (u) there is a gap of 0.5 cm, and one of 1 cm between fr. (v) and (w). There is a 0.7 cm margin visible on the left-hand side. As the top and bottom margins are lost we do not know where the pages began and ended, though it is quite likely that the leaf had 36 lines on each side. The lateral position of (u) is uncertain; see line 292 n. The average number of letters to the line is 34 on ↓. On →, however, the number of letters is more difficult to determine for it seems to be rather variable in comparison with the expected text (between 28 and 36 letters). An average of about 33 letters per line is perhaps the most likely.

↓

284–285 *και την]ε]κηννη[ν αυτου*: omitted by C.  $\mathfrak{P}^{47}$  omits *τους* and *εκηνουντας*.

286–287 *και εδοθ[η αυτω ποιησαι πολεμον μετα των] [α]γωνων και]ε] νικησαι αυτους*: this is the reading of  $\mathfrak{N}$  046 051 2344 2351 ( $\mathfrak{M}^k$ ); omitted by  $\mathfrak{P}^{47}$  A C 2053  $\mathfrak{M}^A$ .

288 Spacing indicates that the papyrus did not omit *και λαον* with  $\mathfrak{P}^{47}$  051  $\mathfrak{M}^A$ . It may have agreed with C in reading *λαους* for *λαον*.

290–291 *το]ον[ομα*: so 046  $\mathfrak{M}$ ; *το ονομα αυτου* A C 2053 *pc*; *το ονομα αυτων* 1611 *pc* sy<sup>h</sup>; *τα ονοματα*  $\mathfrak{N}^2$  P 051 *al*; *τα ονοματα αυτων*  $\mathfrak{P}^{47}$   $\mathfrak{N}^*$ .

291 *εν τ[ω βιβλιω*: this is the reading of A P 051  $\mathfrak{M}$ ; the papyrus could also have read *εν τω βιβλω* with  $\mathfrak{N}^2$  or *εν τη βιβλ[ω* with  $\mathfrak{P}^{47}$ , but not *εν βιβλω* with  $\mathfrak{N}^*$ , *εν βιβλιω* with C, or *επι τω βιβλιω* with 046.

292 *[εσφαγμενο]ν*: the reading is very uncertain as only the tail of an upright survives. This could equally be part of, e.g., the kappa of *καταβολης*, in which case the fragment would need to be realigned slightly to the right.

293 A 2351 read *εις αιχμαλωσιαν εις αιχμαλωσιαν*. It is most likely that the papyrus omitted at least one of the two occurrences of *εις αιχμαλωσιαν* (so  $\mathfrak{P}^{47}$  vid  $\mathfrak{N}$  C P 046. 051  $\mathfrak{M}$ ), for even so the line is rather long.

294 The papyrus may have agreed with  $\mathfrak{P}^{47}$  C in reading *αποκτενει δει* for *αποκτανθηναι*.

298 *ε]λ[α]λει*: so most authorities; *λαλει* (so  $\mathfrak{P}^{47}$ ) is less likely because of spacing.

304 All other witnesses include *εκ του ουρανου* either before or after *καταβαινειν*. It is likely that the papyrus omitted the phrase, since otherwise the line would be too long. No omissions are attested elsewhere.

It is unlikely that the papyrus agreed with  $\mathfrak{P}^{47}$  in reading *ποιητη* for *ποιη*, and it did not agree with it in reading *καταβηναι* for *καταβαινειν*.

306–308 *δια τα σημεια ... κατοικουσιν επι της γης* is omitted by 046\* sy.

308 *της γης ποιησαι*: so most authorities; *της γης και ποιησαι*  $\mathfrak{N}$ .

308–309 *την πληγην τη[ς μαχαιρης]*: so A C P; it is impossible to tell whether the papyrus omitted *την* with  $\mathfrak{N}$  (which reads *πληγης*) and  $\mathfrak{M}^K$ . It did not read *πληγην και εξησεν απο της μαχαιρης* with 046 2351  $\mathfrak{M}^K$ .

310 *αυτω*: so  $\mathfrak{P}^{47}$   $\mathfrak{N}$  P\*\* 046. 051  $\mathfrak{M}$ ; *αυτη* A C P\*<sup>vid</sup>.

$\delta$ [ουναι]: C omits.

311–312 The average number of letters to the line suggests that the papyrus omitted *να* before *οσοι* with  $\mathfrak{N}$  2351  $\mathfrak{M}$ . It is included by A P 2344 *al*. C omits the words from *και ποιησεν οσοι* to *του θηριου* (homoioteleuton).

→

323 After *εστιν* most witnesses read *και ο αριθμος αυτου* followed by the figure 616 or 666. C P 051  $\mathfrak{M}^A$  read *και ο αριθμος αυτου εστιν*.  $\mathfrak{P}^{47}$  reads simply *εστιν δε*, and  $\mathfrak{N}$  omits the phrase. It is not possible to read *εστιν* or *εστι* in the papyrus. Eta is certain and has a horizontal bar above it. If this is a deletion mark, it could explain the short supplement. The slight trace before eta would suit kappa.

$\chi\iota\varsigma$ : so C 11 (*εξακοσιαι δεκα εξ*) 5 (*χις*) Tyc, and some lost texts criticised by Irenaeus (*Adv. Haer.* 5.30.1), as well as the Ps.-Augustine homilies on the Apocalypse (*PL XXXV* 2437); *εξακοσιαι* (or *-cia* or *-cioi*) *εξηκοντα* *εξ* is read either in full or as figures by  $\mathfrak{P}^{47}$   $\mathfrak{N}$  A 051 2053<sup>vid</sup>  $\mathfrak{M}$ ; *εξακοσια εξηκοντα πεντε* 2344.

324 *το ορο[c]*: *το* is omitted by C.

325 The omission of *κιων* (so C) would make the line too short, and the addition of *αριθμος* after *αυτου* (so 046  $\mathfrak{M}^K$ ) would make it too long, unless *κιων* is omitted.

326–327 *αυτου γε[γραμμενον]*: so most authorities; *αυτου το γεγραμμενον* A. The supplement in line 326 is slightly long, but it is very unlikely that *το* came at the end of line 325. The omission of *αυτου και το ονομα* (so P 1) would make the supplement too short.

330  $\omega$ [c]: omitted by P  $\mathfrak{M}^A$ .

The papyrus no doubt agreed with  $\mathfrak{P}^{47}$  2053 in adding *φωνην* before *κιθαρωδων*, as otherwise the supplement would be too short.

332 The supplement is uncertain. C omits *αυτων*, and before *ωδην* A C 051  $\mathfrak{M}^A$  add *ως*, which is omitted by  $\mathfrak{P}^{47}$   $\mathfrak{N}$  P 046 2053 2344  $\mathfrak{M}^K$ . Spacing suggests that the papyrus is most likely to have read the supplement suggested in the text, but it is possible that it agreed with C in omitting *αυτων* and including *ως*.

333 *ενωπιον τω[ν τεσσαρων ζων]*: the supplement would be too short if *τεσσαρων* had been written in numerical notation (for the lack of consistency in writing figures see also page 20, line 250).

334 *και των πρε[σβυτερων]*: omitted by C. The addition of *ενωπιον* before *πρεσβυτερων*, attested by  $\mathfrak{N}$ , would make the line too long.

335 It is unlikely that the papyrus agreed with C in adding *αι* before *χιλιαδες*.

341 The papyrus no doubt followed most MSS in reading *εν τω στοματι αυτων ουχ[ι] ευρεθη ψ[ευδος]*. It did not read *ουχ ευρεθη εν τω στοματι αυτων ψευδος* with 046  $\mathfrak{M}^K$ .

342 *λ[ο]ν ιδον* (l. *ειδον*) *αγ[γ]ελον*: the attested sequence is either *και ειδον αλλον αγγελον*, so  $\mathfrak{N}^2$  A C P 051 2053, or *και ειδον αγγελον*, so  $\mathfrak{P}^{47}$   $\mathfrak{N}^*$  046  $\mathfrak{M}$ .  $\mathfrak{P}^{47}$  adds *γαρ* after *αμωμοι*, but this does not help to solve the difficulty. Possibly the scribe wrote *ιδον αλ[λ]ον*.

344 *ευαγγελισαι* is read by most MSS. There is no room for *ευαγγελισαθαι* with  $\mathfrak{P}^{47}$  $\mathfrak{N}$ . After this most MSS insert *επι*; it is most probable that the papyrus agreed with 046 051  $\mathfrak{M}$  in omitting it.

344–345 *τους κατοι[κουν]τας*: so A 051; *τους καθημενους*  $\mathfrak{P}^{47}$  $\mathfrak{N}$  C P 046 and most other MSS; *καθημενους τους κατοικουντας*  $\mathfrak{M}^A$ , which is certainly too long. It is likely that final nu was indicated by a suprascript bar in both these lines.

346 *εν φωνη*: so  $\mathfrak{P}^{47}$   $\mathfrak{N}$  C P 046 and most MSS; *εν* is omitted by A.

347  $\delta$ [οτε αυτ[ω]]: the omicron in  $\delta$ [οτε] is not clear, but alpha for *δοξαετε αυτον* (so  $\mathfrak{P}^{47}$ ) is not likely and spacing is against it.

349 *τω ποιησαντι*: there is insufficient space for *τω θω[ν] τω ποιησαντι*, the reading of 2329 Lvt (gig).

350 The supplement *και θαλασσαν* suits the space better than *και την θαλασσαν*, the reading of  $\mathfrak{P}^{47}$   $\mathfrak{N}$  046 051 2053  $\mathfrak{M}^K$  (unless *και* before *την γην* came at the end of line 349). It is likely that the nu of *υδατων* was represented by a suprascript bar.



Pages 23–24: Frr. (x) to (z)

Fragments from the following leaf. The average number of letters to the line is 30 on ↓ and 34 on →. The upper part of fr. (x) ↓ is very damaged, but there are traces of three lines, which probably belong to the beginning of the page. Between frr. (x) and (y) there is a gap of 0.5 cm. The lateral position of fr. (z) is uncertain.

↓

358 359 βασιλευσιν] | εἰς ται: so **Σ** C P 046; βασιλευσιν] | εἰς ται A.

359–360 ενωπιον αγγελων] | α[γ]ιων: so **ℙ**<sup>47</sup> **Σ** C P and some minuscules; ενωπιον των αγιων αγγελων 046 **ℳ**<sup>K</sup>; ενωπιον των αγγελων A. The supplement expected in line 360 between ενωπιον and βασιλευσιν is του αρνιου και ο καπνος του; this is too long, but there are no omissions attested.

361 ε[ις αιωνας αιωνων]: this is the reading of A 046 and most of the MSS. P 051 *al* read εις αιωνα αιωνων; C *hc* read εις αιωνα αιωνος. It is quite possible that the papyrus added the article των, reading εις αιωνας των αιωνων with **Σ**.

363 If και is right, as it appears to be, the papyrus must have had some unattested variant or mistake before it, as the supplement ημερας is insufficient to fill the space. If παυσιν is moved down to this line, line 362 is too short.

374 The traces are too slight for any attempt at reconstruction.

377–378 εκ του [ναου | κραζων]: so most of the MSS; κραζων εκ του ναου A; εκ του ουρανου κραζων 051. 2053 **ℳ**<sup>A</sup>. Since ουρανου would have been written οὐρανόν it would have occupied much the same space as ναου. As the supplement between these lines is short, it is also possible that the papyrus read either εκ του ναου αυτου κραζων with **Σ** or εκ του ναου ανακραζων with **ℙ**<sup>47</sup> (which omits εν following).

379 Before πεμφ[ there is a vertical line with a curl at the top which seems to be a mark of some sort rather than a letter.

380 ηλθε]ν 'η' ωρ[α θερικαι: so A C P 046 and most MSS. The papyrus did not read ηλθεν ου η ωρα θερικαι (so 051 **ℳ**<sup>A</sup>) or εξηλθεν ο θερικμος (so **ℙ**<sup>47</sup>), and probably did not read η ωρα του θερικμου (so **Σ** *hc*) or η ωρα του θερικαι (so 2053 *al.*). The eta was probably added by the corrector.

381 θερικμος ] ης[: the trace visible before ης could be part of either gamma or tau. The papyrus could have read either θερικμος της] γης[ or θερικμος] της] [γης.

→

391 α[υ]τη[ε]: the traces are very faint but the reading, which is that of most MSS, seems possible. ηκμασεν η σταφυλη της γης is read by 046 **ℳ**<sup>K</sup>.

392–393 εις την [γην: so A C P 046 and most other MSS; επι της γης **Σ**; επι την γην **ℙ**<sup>47</sup>.

394 τον με[γ]α: so A C P 046 and many other MSS; την μεγαλην **Σ** 2053 *al*; του μεγαλου **ℙ**<sup>47</sup> *hc*.

396 αχ[ρ]ι: μεχρι **ℙ**<sup>47</sup>.

397 **Β**<sub>χ</sub>: this reading does not seem to be attested elsewhere. χιλιων εξακοσιων, in full or in figures, is the reading of **ℙ**<sup>47</sup> **Σ**<sup>c</sup> A C P 046 **ℳ**<sup>K</sup>; χιλιων διακοσιων **Σ**<sup>\*</sup> *hc* sy<sup>ph</sup>; χιλιων πεντακοσιων Lvt (gig); χιλιων εξακοσιων εξ 2036.

412 εφαν]ερωθη[σαν: the papyrus is not likely to have read εφανερωθη with **ℙ**<sup>47</sup>.

418 δ] ζωνων: the end of the supralinear bar over the lost numeral is visible. ζωνων is omitted by **ℙ**<sup>47</sup>.

J. CHAPA

#### 4500. REVELATION XI 15–16; 17–18

34 4B.73/G(5–7) (a)  
0308

4.8 × 5.9 cm

Fourth century  
Plates I–II

This parchment fragment of the Apocalypse is from the inner top of a small single-column codex leaf. The scribe uses a mannered, clear, seriffed, round hand, written in a carbon ink. The letters are 2–2.5 mm high and largely bilinear. There are no signs of rulings or prickings, which is surprising as the scribe is extremely skilled. The script closely resembles that of 0171 (PSI I 2 + II 124 + P. Berol. inv. 11863), leaves of a

parchment codex of Matthew and Luke found at Hermopolis Magna. E. Pistelli dated them to the fourth century, Kurt Treu to c. AD 300. P. Amh. II 24, a parchment leaf of Demosthenes is also in a similar hand; this is assigned to the second half of the fourth century in Cavallo and Maehler, *GBEP* 13c.

The page originally contained 14 lines, giving a written area of c. 6 × 6.5 cm. The surviving inner margin is 1 cm wide and 0.5 cm remains of the top margin, so that the original page cannot have been less than 8 × 8 cm. **4500** may be compared in particular with another parchment codex of Revelation assigned to the fourth century, VIII **1080** = 0169 = Turner 163, NT Parch. 108. This has a page size of 7.8 × 9.5 cm and also has 14 lines to the page with identical line-spacing. The hand, however, is quite different from **4500** and they are not part of the same codex.

No use is made of breathings or punctuation. On the flesh side the following *nomina sacra* occur:  $\overline{\kappa\upsilon}$  (line 2) and  $\overline{\chi\rho\upsilon}$  (line 3);  $\overline{\theta\upsilon}$  is supplemented in line 7. In line 6 the number 24 is expressed by the cypher  $\overline{\kappa\delta}$ .

The only papyri which contain these verses are P. Chester Beatty III =  $\mathfrak{P}^{47}$ , dated to the later third century by F. G. Kenyon, and **4499** above. In addition to the works cited in the general introduction H. C. Hoskier, *Concerning the Text of the Apocalypse: Collations of all existing available Greek Documents with the Standard Text of Stephen's Third Edition* (London 1929), has been consulted.

#### Flesh side

	] η βασιλει[α του κοc]	xi 15
	[μ]ου του $\overline{\kappa\upsilon}$ ημ[ων και]	
	[τ]ου $\overline{\chi\rho\upsilon}$ αυτο[υ και βασι]	
	λευκει ειc το[υc αιω]	
5	νας των αι[ωνων αμην]	
	και οι $\overline{\kappa\delta}$ πρ[εcβυτεροι]	16
	ενωπιον [του $\overline{\theta\upsilon}$ κα]	
	θημενο[ι επι τουc θρο]	
	νους α[υτων επεcαν]	
10	επι [τα προcωπα αυτων]	
	κ[αι	

#### Hair side

	κ]αι ο ην και [οτι]	17
	[ειλη]φας την δυν[αμιν]	
	[cου] την μεγαλ[ην]	
	[και εβ]αcιλευcας κα[ι]	



## II. EPIGRAM AND ELEGY

### 4501-2. EPIGRAMS: NICARCHUS II?

The Palatine Anthology ascribes various epigrams to 'Nicarchus'. Within these, Weisshäupl distinguished a poet who sounds hellenistic from a poet who, since he seems to imitate Lucillius, must be of Roman date: see Gow and Page, *Hellenistic Epigrams* (1965) II 425. Since Lucillius worked (in Naples) under Nero, to whom he dedicated his second book (*AP* 9.572), scholars have tended to date this Nicarchus under the Flavians, and more specifically as a contemporary and model of Martial (K. Prinz, *Martial u. die gr. Epigrammatik* I (1911) 24 f.; W. Burnikel, *Untersuchungen zur Struktur des Witzeepigramms bei Lukillios und Martial* (1980) 110 ff.).

Some locate him on the spot, in Rome (Aubretton, Beckby); others make him an Egyptian (Schmid-Stählin II i 330; Keydell, *Kl. P.* IV 100). Clearly there would be no contradiction between an Egyptian origin and a Roman presence. So far, however, the 'Egyptian' features have proved less than decisive. (i) At *AP* 11.18.5 Nicarchus mentions Boubastis as goddess of birth. Herodotus (2.137.5) had already made the identification with Artemis; but the specific context here might suggest local knowledge. (ii) At *AP* 11.244.4 Nicarchus uses the word βαύκαλις, 'wine-cooler', which Athen. 11.784b, quoting Sopater ὁ παρωδός (fr. 24 Kaibel), regards as Alexandrian; and in fact Philostorgius attests it as the nickname of a presbyter, and Epiphanius as the name of a church, in Alexandria (see Lampe, *Patristic Greek Lexicon*). The word and its derivatives occur sporadically in Egyptian documents, as a 'jar' of meat, wine etc. (see H. C. Youtie, *Scriptiunculae* (1973) I 520-1; LIX 4002.7 n.); and in patristic texts (many but not all of Egyptian origin) from the fourth century on. To these Keydell added (iii) *AP* 11.243.2, where Onesimus takes his yearly bath δωδεκάτῃ Δύστρου μηνὸς ἐπ' Ἀντιφίλου. But this passage has nothing to do with Egypt. The Macedonian months did indeed continue to be used there, for decorative purposes (U. Hagedorn, *ZPE* 23 (1976) 143-67); however, documents were dated by regnal years, not by eponymous magistrates as in the epigram.

We now have three papyri from Oxyrhynchus which contribute to the discussion:

L 3725 includes *AP* 5.40 and 11.241, both ascribed to Nicarchus (II).

4501 imitates Lucillius *AP* 11.247 (or vice versa?)

4502 includes *AP* 11.328, ascribed to Nicarchus (II).

All three are written on the back of documentary texts, in informal hands assignable to the first or possibly early second century AD; all the themes, except 3725 fr. 1 ii 3-8, are or may be skoptic. Two of the pieces (3725, 4502) present individual titles (4502 not consistently); none names authors, which may or may not suggest a single authorship. It would be tidy to regard all three as part of the same MS, and attribute all the poems to Nicarchus II. But there are discrepancies. (i) Verso is written the same way up as Recto in 4501-2 and 3725 fr. 2, but not in 3725 fr. 1 (and fr. 3?). (ii) 4502 presents a



regular column of writing; **3725** too, allowing for its fragmentary condition, looks like continuous text. In **4501**, however, we have two blocks of writing separated by a fourteen-line space. (iii) The hands of **4501** and **4502** are very probably the same (recto as well as verso); **3725** belongs to the same general type, but looser and less crabbed and different in some letter forms ( $\beta$  with two loops,  $\kappa$   $\mu$  and  $\omega$  less deep,  $o$  smaller,  $\rho$  with longer stem). Some of these anomalies could be discounted: (i) may attest only a certain carelessness in making up a roll from used documents; (iii) may reflect the inconsistency of an amateur copyist. But I am at a loss to explain (ii). Certainly, this was not a substantive book-seller's copy, as the sloppy script and (in **4502**) corrupt text prove; the writer knew enough to write a forked paragraphos in **4501**, yet uses iota adscript indiscriminately in an effort to be correct. If it was a private copy, the oddities of format, the disparity of hands and the irregularity of headings count for less; and we could visualise a personal compilation of excerpts rather than the direct reproduction of an authorial collection (I have even wondered whether the central blank in **4501** was left to accommodate another epigram not yet excerpted). Such a compilation may have covered a wide range: **4502** groups epigrams on sexual themes, **4501** has a more innocent joke; in **3725**, if that belongs, scatology follows direct on sentiment.

The papyri show that Nicarchus' work was circulating at Oxyrhynchus in the first century AD. The very fact that it reached there might speak for his Egyptian origin; though it must be said that there was a more general interest in the genre at this period (IV **662**, XV **1795**, LIV **3724**; XLVII **3324** is earlier). The actual content of the new poems contributes little to the question. (i) **3725** fr. 2.8 ἐπὶ σφίγγ[ος? (title) need not refer to an Egyptian sphinx, as **4502** 30–7 now shows. (ii) **4501** transposes the leaky ship joke from the sea to a river (5); plainly a substantial river, but the Nile is not the only candidate. (iii) **4502** 41 λόγευμα is a word unattested in TLG, but known from documentary papyri; even so, it seems unlikely that a word of such regular formation would be confined to Egypt.

All the known poems in these papyri are by Nicarchus; the new poems may well be his too. The one known poem completely preserved, **4502** 18–29, shows two substantial variants against the text transmitted as *AP* 11.328. Does the papyrus preserve an earlier version, *AP* a later (authorial) revision?

#### 4501. EPIGRAM (NICARCHUS II?)

28 4B.58/J(1)a

14.5 × 12 cm

First century?  
Plate IX

On one side, written along the fibres, remains of two columns of cursive: apparently a register or the like (ii 4 and 5 begin with check-marks followed by ἀριθμῶν). On the other side, across the fibres but the same way up, fr. (a) offers a margin of 2 cm below a broken top edge, and then five lines of writing. Fr. (b) joins below, to give a blank



7 cm deep, and then remains of three more lines before the papyrus breaks off. I cannot explain this extraordinary format. Indeed, I had tried to place fr. (b) above fr. (a), so that lines 6–8 would represent the missing middles of lines 1–3; it was Dr Coles who recognised and demonstrated the correct placing.

**4501** was very probably written by the same hand as **4502**, and may have formed part of the same MS. For the relationship with LIV **3725**, see above p. 38.

The hand is shaky, with some cursive traits:  $\beta$  in 1 has the cursive shape; cross-bars often touch the next letter, and in some cases represent real ligatures, as in 5 (πο)τα(μωι).  $\epsilon$  and  $\varsigma$  are full and round, with their separate caps often flattened; the cross-bar of  $\epsilon$  is detached and sometimes touches the upper curve;  $\mu$  lopsided,  $\pi$  with a curved right-hand side. These features, and the general air of plump ineptness, find their obvious parallels in manuscripts objectively datable to the early Roman period; see **4502** introduction. The scribe is not altogether to be trusted. He wrote iota adscript correctly (5), and marked the end of a poem with a forked paragraphos; but he allowed himself minor carelessnesses (3, 4).

The remarkable phrase τῶι ξυλίνωι ποταμῶι (5) gives a clue to the content. This is a variant of the Leaky Boat joke (the boat is so full of holes that there is more water inside it than out), which appears in Lucillius, *AP* 11.245 and 247, and then in Lucillius' imitator Nicarchus, *AP* 11.332. So Lucillius pictures whole oceans in the bilge:

ἀντλείται δ' Ἀδρίας, Τυρρηνικός, Ἰστικός, Αἴγων·

οὐ πλοῖον, πηγὴ δ' Ὠκεανοῦ ξυλίνη (11.247.3–4).

Assuming that our poem imitates this phrase, rather than vice versa, and given that **4502** includes an epigram attributed in *AP* to Nicarchus, it is tempting to assign this poem to Nicarchus as a pair to 11.332. Note that Lucillius' epigrams concern the open sea, and *AP* 11.332 takes place on what may be a sea-going vessel of some size (see Casson, *Ships and Seamanship* (21995) 169 n. 5); the present poem concerns a river (5, unless the word is used loosely), therefore either a ferry or a river-transport. Lucillius' epigrams address the captain; Nicarchus' are in the third person.

Fr. (a)                     $\epsilon\chi$ .  $\epsilon\varsigma\upsilon\varsigma\epsilon$  . . . . . [ . . . . . ]  $\phi$  [ . . . ]  $\epsilon$   
                                $\omicron\upsilon\kappa\epsilon\iota\sigma\tau\omicron\nu\lambda\iota\mu\epsilon$  .  $\alpha\varsigma\pi\epsilon$  [ . . . . . ]  $\alpha\kappa\alpha\iota\eta\mu\alpha\varsigma$   
                                $\omega\rho\mu\iota\epsilon\nu\epsilon\iota\varsigma\tau\eta\nu\alpha\nu\delta\omega$  . [ . . . ] . [ . . ] . [ . ]  $\mu\epsilon\nu\alpha$   
                               .  $\alpha\iota\tau$  .  $\varsigma\epsilon\nu\alpha\upsilon\pi\eta$  .  $\eta$  .  $\epsilon\tau\omicron\kappa$  [ . ] .  $\kappa\iota\nu\omicron$  . .  $\tau\iota\varsigma$  .  $\pi$  .  $\omega\tau$  . .  
 5                             $\pi\eta\delta\alpha\lambda\iota\omicron\nu\pi\epsilon\rho\iota\theta\epsilon\iota\varsigma\tau\omega\iota\xi\upsilon\lambda\iota\nu\omega\iota\pi\omicron\tau\alpha\mu\omega\iota$

>—

] ] ] ] ]

] Fr. (b)

]

]

]

]

]

]

]

|

]

] αμβανι [

] νατ . αν [

] . . [

. . . . .

εχ . εσυσε . . . . . [ . . . . . ] φ [ . . . ] ε

οὐκ εἰς τὸν λιμένα επε[ . . . . . ] α καὶ ἡμᾶς

ὤρμιεν, εἰς τῇ&lt;ν&gt; ναῦν δ' ὤρ[μιε] τ[ὸν λι]μένα.

παῖ, τίς ἐναυπήγησε τὸ κ[ό]σκινον, ἢ τίς ὁ πρῶτος

πηδάλιον περιθεὶς τῶι ξυλίνωι ποταμῶι;

5

1 χ., left-hand arc, dot of ink in the middle ε . . . . ., first probably λ followed by upright, damage to right (but μ may not be excluded); then upright, damage, ink on line; horizontal a little above the line, joining short vertical (o?); upright on the edge; top of upright, joined from left by short horizontal at mid-height; top left as of ε or c (θ less likely? o too small?) ] φ[ on an island attached by a vertical strand of fibres; the precise horizontal range might be varied slightly 2 ε., foot of upright with left-pointing serif, more ink at line-level to right επε, first upright of π much damaged; of ε the lower left-hand arc and remains of the cross-bar to the right; not ετω, it seems 3 ω., short oblique descending from left to right, or right-hand element of angular loop, in upper part of line ] [, short thick horizontal trace at line-level ] [, possible trace at line-level (on folded fibres) 4 α, lower part of upright, then ink in lower part of line hooked strongly to right at foot τ., at line-level, below hole, short rising horizontal extending below the right-hand overhang of τ η., to the right of a hole the foot of an oblique flattening out to join the next η η., ink to right of hole, level with letter tops and touching the next ε ] κ, right-hand end of high horizontal intersecting upright of κ ο., probably top left junction of ν; lower part of upright, swung leftwards at foot, another trace at line-level to right, also turning slightly to left ε . π . ωτ., first, horizontal ink below hole just above line-level, more to right at mid-height; second, upright, more ink to right in upper part of line; after τ, lower part of circular letter, then horizontal or curving ink at line-level, more to right level with letter-tops 5 of ξ, only the characteristic base 6 ], oblique trace (descending from left to right) at line-level [, ink at line-level, perhaps foot of oblique rising to the right 7 τ . α, oblique sloping steeply up from left to right, possibly more ink at line-level joining α ν., horizontal

trace just below letter-tops, curving down at the left  
down to join upright; second top of upright

8 ] . [ , first oblique in upper part of line sloping

‘... he did not moor [the ship] and us in the harbour: he moored the harbour in the ship. Boy, what shipwright built this sieve? or who was the first to attach a rudder to this wooden river?’

1 Lines 2–5 can easily be restored as elegiacs. The first line might then be (i) part of the poem; or (ii) something extraneous. (ii) seems less likely. The writing coheres too closely with the poem to be just a doodle; its content, and its position (flush left), show that it was not a subject-heading of the kind found in 3725 and 4502. In favour of (i): *AP* 11.332, and the two corresponding epigrams of Lucillius, have six lines each. The length does not show whether the line was hexameter or pentameter; unless the scribe simply skipped, we should assume a pentameter (the hexameter at the foot of the preceding column).

*AP* 11.332 names the helmsman, and Lucillius addresses 11.247 to the naukleros (and presumably Diophantus in 11.245 has the same function): we therefore expect the name of the captain (who is the subject of 2–3) to appear in line 1 or 2 (or in the omitted verse, if there was one), presumably in the nominative. That leaves the question what to do with the possible vocative(s) in 1, and the vocative *παῖ* in 4: does *παῖ* refer to the (young or slave) helmsman, now addressed directly? or (say) to a slave who accompanies the narrating poet on his journey (2 *ἡμᾶς* might include him)?

1 *εχ. ευυε. . . .* [: after *χ*, remains of a circular letter with ink in the middle? after *εε*, *λ*, or perhaps *μ*. (i) *ἐχθῆς* might suit the aorists which follow (and begins six epigrams in *AP*). But then *υ* seems certain: how to continue? (ii) *ἐχθε* *κύ*. (iii) *ἐχθ<ρ>έ* *κύ* (that would introduce a vocative, cf. 4, but requires us to assume a misspelling). (Note however that, among the examples in TLG, *ἐχθρέ* most often goes with a dative, as at Anaxipp. fr. 6.4 KA *θεοῖσιν ἐχθρὲ κύ*, or with a genitive.)

If *κύ*, then *εεμνόν* *ε* [ (the nu would be wide)? *εεμνοπρό[σωπε]*? (The adjective now attested in Com. Adesp. 1105.180 KA; the verb in Aristophanes, *Nub.* 363.)

2 *επε[ . . . . . ] α*. We need a semantic equivalent of *τὴν ναῦν*; and, here or above, a nominative subject. One pattern would be *επέ[νδων πάκτων] α* (or a ship's name: Greek ship names tend to be feminine, but there are exceptions; Roman ships are masculine as often as feminine: for lists, see L. Casson, *Ships and Seamanship* (21995) 350–360; Michel Reddé, *Mare Nostrum* (Bibliothèque des Écoles Françaises d'Athènes et de Rome, Fasc. 260) (1986) 665–72 (I owe this latter reference to Dr W. E. H. Cockle)).

3 *ῶρμινε, εἰς τῇ<ν> ναῦν δ' ῶρ[μινε] τ[ὸν λι]μένα*. The conceit dictates this reconstruction, and the insertion of *ν* (easily skipped) is a small price to pay. In the latter part, there are some doubts. What is printed fits the overall space very well. The difficulty lies in fitting letters to traces between *δωρ* and *μενα*. Provisionally, I have taken the first visible trace to be the serified foot of *τ*, and discounted a dubious second trace (though that might be accommodated to *λ*).

4 *παῖ, τίς ἐναυπήγησε*. Neither *καί* nor *γαί* suits the ink. *παῖ* presumes an address to someone—the speaker's slave, as in *AP* 11.35.6 *λάμβανε, παῖ?* (but how would he know the answers?) or the captain, young or slave (who might know the answers)?

*τίς*. Nothing visible of *ι* except an oblique trace at line-level, which I have taken as a left-pointing serif such as occurs elsewhere on the feet of uprights. It must be admitted that this would be a very substantial example. On the other hand, I do not see where else to go; *α*, which might have a prolonged oblique nose, would be too wide for the space.

—*πηγ*— must be meant, but gamma was not written: the trace is an oblique right-hand foot, flattening out to join the following *η*; *λ* is most suggested.

*τὸ κ[ό]ζκινον*: a sieve, i.e. full of holes (so Lucillius applies the word to a boxer's head, *AP* 11.78). The proverb *κοκίνω ἀντλεῖς* makes the point from the other side (examples collected by W. Bühler, *Zenobii Athoi Proverbia* IV (1982) 300).

End: if *κ[ό]ζκινον* is right, the next letter must be a vowel; traces perhaps feet of two uprights turning to the left, i.e. *η*, *ι*, not *ει*. *ἦ τίς* (or *τίς*—; the trace excludes *τίσι*) would take up the first *τίς*. Then the next letter too must be a vowel; the trace would allow *ε* or *ο*. As for grammar, we might look for another (aorist) verb; a nominative noun as at *AP* 16.142.5 *ὦ, τίς ὁ τεχνίτης τόδε γ' ἐπλάσεν ἢ τίς ὁ γλύπτης, ὃς κτλ*—and much else. *ὁ πρῶτος* seems to suit the traces, and I suppose it might hint at the familiar curse on the *πρῶτος*

εὐρετής. One thinks naturally of ὁ πωρεύς (Professor Mandilaras had the same idea), as in *AP* 11.332.1, but it does not suit the traces.

5 περιθείς. If the context is rightly reconstructed, this should mean ‘attaching a steering-oar to the wooden river’. The original sense is clearly ‘put *around*’: so of physical objects that enclose, a wreath (*AP* 6.341.30), a mask (11.212.3, Demades fr. 48, *de Subl.* 30.2.4), clothing (Chariton 4.3.7), fetters (Paus. 3.15.11). By extension, you may clothe someone with trust (Aesch., *FL* 103), fame or infamy (Thuc. 4.87.6, Aesch., *Ctes.* 231, Isoc., *Phil.* 78), fortune or misfortune (Antiph., *Tetr.* 1.3.1, Aesch., *FL* 51), pride or grief (Plu., *Per.* 4.6, *QS* 2.610); rhetoric clothes small things with greatness (Isocr., *Paneg.* 8, Aristotle, *Rhet.* 1368<sup>a</sup>29). That leaves some usages with relatively concrete nouns: βασιλήϊον (Hdt 1.129), ἀρχήν (Thuc. 8.43.4), ἐλευθερίην (*AP* VII 253), deeds (Aristox. fr. 130.7 ‘some attribute his deeds to Pisistratus’) and words (Ἀλεξίς... περιθεῖς μαγεῖρω τὸν λόγον (quotation) Athen. 9.386A; τοὺς λόγους ἐκάστοις Theophr., *Met.* 7a. 20). The first of these can be seen as a clear metaphor, ‘investing with’; the last two perhaps show a weakening. But in any case I do not find a parallel for the verb referring to a concrete object which by its nature is not enveloping.

*AP* 11.247 (Lucillius) πηγὴ ... ξυλύνῃ (a leaky boat). 15.18.4 (Anon.) ἐν ξυλύνῳ σταδίῳ (draught board). As Dr Rea remarks, ποταμῶνι, which seals the joke, is deliberately left to last. I assume that the word refers to a ‘river’ as such, not to something like the Homeric Ὠκεανὸς ποταμός.

Below: more ink, forked paragraphos.

6–8 This may or may not be verse. The remains correspond to the last third of the lines above.

6 ] αμβανι. [. The first trace would allow λ; that would point to (–)λάμβαν’ (imperfect? imperative, cf. **4502** 10?), then ι. [ (the trace perhaps a narrow left angle, α, δ?).

7 ] ρατ. αν. [: after τ, probably the left leg of λ; at the end perhaps the down-turning left-hand tip of a horizontal near the top. Ἀτλαντ[?

P. J. PARSONS

## 4502. EPIGRAMS (NICARCHUS II)

103/164(a)

11 × 28 cm

First century?  
Plate X

A single column to full height, with 46 lines, written across the fibres; the top margin survives to 1.5 cm, the lower to 2.3 cm. On the back, and with the fibres (therefore on the original recto), are line-ends and beginnings (lower right) from an account; the beginnings have check-marks; at least some of the amounts are in drachmas and obols.

The hand looks to me the same as in **4501** (and Dr Coles is inclined to identify also the documentary hands on the rectos); see above p. 38 on a possible connection with **3725**. It is a sloppy half-cursive written with a blotchy pen (the scribe sharpened it, or took a new one, before starting the new poem in 18). α and ε, γ and τ regularly ligature to the following letter. The effect is very roughly bilinear, except where the scribe reduces his letter-size at line-ends. Among letter-forms, note:

A sometimes rounded, sometimes sharp-nosed (the nose in one movement, the upper part often straight, the lower concave)

B always in the open-topped cursive form



*E* in two movements (the cap separate), sometimes in the cursive form (the cap curving down to ligature to a vestigial cross-bar), more often as the left-hand half of an oval or circle with the cross-bar detached and projecting to the right even when there is no ligature

*H* with the right side strongly curved and often written in one movement with the cross-piece

*Θ* at least twice with central dot

*K* often has the junction of the branches slightly separated from the upright

*M* the legs curved, the belly touching the line

*N* the oblique often projecting above the left-hand upright

*O* sometimes small (not filling the line-height)

*Π* with the right upright short and strongly curved

*P* the loop normally a descending curve joining a flat base

*T* often with the left-hand cross-piece written in one movement with the upright, the rest of the horizontal added more or less neatly to the right (the 'Ptolemaic' shape?)

*Υ* sometimes at least the left branch and upright in one movement

*X* the right-hand extremities extended, flattening and curving, the upper down and the lower up

*Ω* sometimes narrow; the middle bar often sloping to the left, the right-hand bar added in a third movement.

There are no certainties in trying to date so informal a hand, even from this relatively large sample. Comparable literary scripts are XLVII **3324** (assigned i BC/i AD); LIV **3724** (first hand), LIII **3700**, L **3522**, XLII **3004**, XIX **2221** + PKöln V 206 (all assigned to i AD); LXII **4306**, L **3538** (both assigned i–ii AD). Comparable literary scripts which carry an objective date appear in *GLH* 9a and especially 10a ('first half of first century') and 10b (30–35); add PSI X 1176 (Norsa, *Scr. Lett.* pl. 11a) (before 59–60), PLitLond 6 + PRyl III 540 (Seider II 21) (before 88/9). Other dated documents from Oxyrhynchus with similar scripts: XLII **3020** (Augustan?), XLVI **3267** (c. 37–41), XXV **2435** (mid-i?), XLV **3250** (c. 63), XXXIV **2725** (71); from elsewhere BGU III 1002 (55 BC), PKöln III 147 (Augustus), WChr 59 (*PGB* 15b) (39), PMert I 12 (58), PSI 459 (Norsa, *Scr. Doc.* pl. 14) (72), PSI XIII 1319, second hand (Pintaudi, *Papiri greci e latini a Firenze* pl. XIV) (76).

I should compare this hand with that of **3020** and, among objectively dated parallels, with *GLH* 10a ('first half of first century') and 10b (AD 30–35)—though some of the same features still continue in 14 (*Paeans*), whose date falls in the second century. Overall, the grouping of distinctive letter-forms, and the general air of ineptness, seem to point to the first century and earlier rather than later. It must be admitted, however, that the second criterion is unreliable: how are we to tell whether 'ineptness' is a feature of style or of personal incompetence? It may be simple coincidence that all Roberts' examples look gawky; LVIII **3915** (AD 30, more or less contemporary with *GLH* 10b), or XLVII **3332** (53), or XLVI **3273**, show that the same general forms could be displayed to much more elegant effect.

The scribe uses a wider line-space to set off the heading of a new poem (9, 38), but not to set off poems with no heading (18, 30); if there were paragraphi, they have been lost with the left-hand margin. No punctuation, no lectional signs; elision is effected but not marked. Iota adscript is written where needed (except perhaps in 6 *πειθης*), and frequently where it is not (8, 23, 28, 32, 35, 37, 41)—the would-be correctness of



the amateur? The general orthography is correct, except for a few itacisms. Yet the copy is careless to a degree, as becomes clear in 18–29, where we have also the text of *AP*: some of his errors might be phonetic (*ων* and *ον* confused), but many represent simple misreading (*καΙω* for *καΓω*, *Τολιην* for *Πολιην*, *νεκΤων* for *νεκΥων*). In 39 *μη* for *μνι* might belong to either type, but in any case ruins the sense.

At least five epigrams are to be recognised, all skoptic and indeed sexual. Of these two are introduced by a heading (9, 38), two follow straight on without title or spacing (18, 30):

1–8 [pederastic]

10–17 ἐπὶ γέροντος παρθένο[ν ἀγομένου]

18–29 = *AP* XI 328, Nicarchus (II) (τριπορνεία)

30–37 [pederastic]

39– ἐπὶ μοιχοῦ.

**3725** too has titles, but consistently; it looks as if the omissions in **4502** are negligence on the part of the copyist (or of his source?). Such explanatory lemmata go back at least to *SH* 985 (iii BC). It is normally assumed that they are editorial; if that is so here, it adds a further stage between the authorial circulation of Nicarchus' poems and the making of our copy (unless indeed the copyist himself devised the headings). There is no trace of author-names. That does not prove unitary authorship, but the material and manner of the new epigrams allow, and perhaps recommend, a common attribution to Nicarchus. A complicating factor is the presence in 18–29 of what look like substantive author-variants.

top

]ναμη . πυγιζε . . πεμμ . [

] . με . . ευρε[] ασαμφιβεβ . [

] . τεμ . . . . . ιπιθα . . . . . ε[

]ον . [] αιονκολλοπαν[

5 ] . γυπνονπυ . . . . . εμες . [

] ουδανπεισθησορ . . λε . [

] εινεικαμαρινανογαρτοπο[

] . ορεισειβηνπικρονησιβε[

] . . . . . επιγεροντοςπαρθεν . [

10 ] . εν . . ωραια . μηλαμ[ . ] αν[

] ελε . επλουτουκυπρισαμ . [

] ωνουζηλουςκαιδακρυ[

] . υσκαιχυλονκαιπτισαν[

] . εχεπευζωμοιστασελ . [

- 15 ] ψεισποιησειδαλλοσομη . [   
 ] αικοτυλαιοσκαιοπλατυ [   
 ] ςωπατρη[[υ]]σηγαγονεισπενι . [   
 ] μιανερμογενησκαιωποτεκαιδιδ . [   
 ] ενεισκοιν . γκυπριναριστοδικη . [   
 20 ] αχονμενεγωτο . ηγαλ . αιεμε . [   
 ] ρενουπαντεςταυτ . διειλαμε . . [   
 ] γενησδελαχεστυγερωνδομονευροεν . [   
 ] ατογεισαφανηχωρονυπερχομενος [   
 ] κτ . νεκτωνκαιερινεοιη . εμοεντος [   
 25 ] υνταιπνοαιδυσκελαδ . ενεμον [   
 ] αδ . θεσδιδυμάρχονοςουρανονεισανε . αιιν [   
 ] λο[ . . ] . . . . . ενχεριπ . . . . . [   
 ] ε . ενξυνηπαντωνψιαθονγα . εναν . ηι [   
 ] σαν . ες[ ] τηνγραυνωδεδιειλομ[ . ] θα [   
 30 ] αρχηνητ . διπουν . . . . . ουντετ . [ ] . . . . . επιγαηι [   
 ] ειςειχελεγεινεστιδα[ . . ] . παθικος [   
 ] οσεωσεστηκεδιπουνσαπερει . [ . . ] . ν . ςδε [   
 ] χερασαμφοτερου . κυβδαχαμαιτ . . [ ] . πους [   
 ] . αλλωιδαντωιδετριπουστο . εφικιοναντ . . [   
 35 ] ροπονενθηιβαισιλησιονεστιλεπας [   
 ] . αντισδιελοιτοσοφωτερονειτεθυπηρχον [   
 ] δρεσεγωιθηβασεσχονανεπταπυλου[ ] [   
 ] επιμοιχου [   
 ] τευεισμητυρονονωιχορτονμελιμην[ ] . [   
 40 ] . ιςιςερινκυσινυνπαιδαριοιςυφίδα [   
 ] ατιονριγουντιθεατρωνηιτολογευμα [   
 ] . ευσικρ . ασοφοφαγωιλοπαδα [   
 ] . ε . ατουμοιχουδιπνονδαμωροςαλεξι[   
 ] . υςαγειςαυτουκαιτογυ . . . οναμα [   
 45 ] ανεσταμεν . . . αχυνειδιαταυταδομο . [   
 ] . οιτηγμο . φηντωιπατριτωιδεπατρι [   
 ] foot . [

1 η . π, apparent vertical ink, too far left to belong to π (ηιπ?) ε . . , apparently broken horizontal continuing cross-bar of ε, remains of vertical below; then joining lower left-hand quadrant of circle? 2 ] . μ,

possible traces on edge;  $\mu$  likely, rather than  $\lambda\lambda$ ,  $\alpha\lambda$ ?  $\epsilon$  . . . , first  $\alpha\iota$ ,  $\lambda\iota$ , possibly  $\nu$ ? second, left-hand arc, more ink to right,  $\varsigma$  or  $\zeta$  . . . , depending on the correct spacing of the fragments . . . [ , apparently upright with blob at top 3 ] . . . , upright, junction at bottom left  $\mu$  . . . , upright? then lower left-hand quadrant of small circle? . . .  $\epsilon$  . . . , part of small circle attached to upright on the left,  $\rho$ ? ( $\beta$  never has this looped shape?), then tops of two upright elements and a vertical further to the right,  $\omega$ ? after  $\epsilon$ , elements of  $\eta$ ? 4  $\nu$  . [ ] . . . , upright curving rightwards at base, probably first element of  $\omega$ ; perhaps space for one letter following (surface stripped), depending on the relative placing of overlapping edges 5 ] . . . , prima facie lower part of  $\sigma$  . . .  $\nu$  . . . , first and second probably  $\gamma\iota$  rather than  $\pi$ , since the second vertical is not curved; then traces of horizontal at line-level, hole above . [ , top of upright 6 ] . [ , upright joining high horizontal, concave ink to right,  $\pi$  or  $\gamma$ ? 7 ] . . . , right-hand extremities of  $\kappa$  or  $\chi$ ? 8 ] . . . , to left, high ink on underfibres; then upright with ink joining it from the left at mid-height (single stroke? or right-hand junction of  $\phi$ ?) 9  $\nu$  . [ , blob of ink at half-height, adhering to the right-hand upright of  $\nu$ , broken to right (probably part of next letter, not just casual) 10 ] . . . , horizontal trace at one-third height, touching back of  $\epsilon$   $\nu$  . . . , small left-hand arc, more upright ink after gap  $\alpha$  . . . , foot of upright, lower part of oblique descending from left to right 11  $\epsilon$  . . . , upright with horizontal extending right-wards at top ( $\gamma$ ,  $\pi$ )  $\alpha\mu$  . [ , short upright trace on edge 13 ] .  $\nu$  . . . , lower arc (trace on loose scrap, with more ink to left; transcript assumes that this scrap should be rotated downwards to the left by  $90^\circ$ , so that the initial ink provides the first trace of 14) 14 ] . . . , low horizontal trace; on the loose scrap, oblique descending from left to right? . [ ,  $\gamma$  or first part of  $\pi$  15 ] . . . , perhaps additional ink to bottom left of  $\psi$  (but fibres twisted) . [ , small left-hand arc 16 ] . . . , rising and descending obliques,  $\alpha$  or  $\lambda$  or  $\mu$  rather than  $\delta$ ? 17 ] . . . , small right-hand arc,  $\sigma$  or possibly  $\omega$ ? . [ , part of upright, possibly joining near top horizontal or descending ink to right 18 ] . [ , high oblique trace descending from left to right 19  $\nu$  . . . , top and foot of tall upright, further upright trace to right . [ , remains of upright, perhaps oblique trace descending from its top 20  $\tau\sigma$  . . . , oblique rising from left to right, perhaps remains of another descending from its top, upright to the right  $\lambda$  . . . , short oblique at line-level descending from left to right . [ , short upright, to right perhaps top and foot of oblique descending from left to right 21 ] . . . , perhaps lower left arc, on twisted fibres which need to be moved closer in  $\tau$  . . . , oblique descending from left to right, perhaps more ink to lower left  $\epsilon$  . . . , small oval letter, middle damaged; point of ink at line-level, perhaps another higher to right 22 ] . . . , right-hand arc of circle . [ , short high horizontal trace on the edge 24 ] . . . , horizontal at mid-height  $\tau$  . . . , small left-hand arc, more ink on damaged fibres to right  $\eta$  . . . , parts of two uprights, damage between 25 ] . . . , horizontal trace touching top of  $\nu$   $\delta$  . . . , second, foot of upright, damage to right 26  $\delta$  . . . , ink level with the letter-tops, hole below 27 ]  $\lambda\sigma$  . . . , to left trace on tiny scrap attaching here but perhaps not belonging 28 ]  $\epsilon$  . . . , damaged fibres, then upright perhaps joined at foot by oblique descending from left  $\alpha$  . . . , lower part of upright  $\nu$  . . . , trace at two-thirds height 29  $\nu$  . . . , ink level with the letter-tops, more to right touching  $\epsilon$  at mid-level 30  $\tau$  . . . , perhaps simply  $\tau\iota$ , the cross-piece of  $\tau$  prolonged to the right (not  $\pi\iota$ )  $\nu\nu$  . . . , part of high horizontal and of vertical below; upper arc .  $\sigma\nu$  . . . , upright curving rightwards at foot; to left, across a gap, possibly top of upright with horizontal extending to right ] . . . . . , fourth, upright preceded perhaps by oblique sloping down from left to right; fifth, ink below hole at line-level, tip of horizontal joining  $\epsilon$  at two-thirds height 31 ] . . . , upright trace on the edge, more ink (horizontal?) to middle left 32 ] . . . , horizontal from left joining top of  $\sigma$ ? . [ , back and curving top as of  $\epsilon$  . [ . . . ] . . . , the space may be less than it looks (the papyrus is warped) . [ . . . ] . . . , rising and descending obliques as of  $\lambda$  or second part of  $\mu$  . . .  $\nu$  . . . , elements of circular letter  $\nu$  . . . , small trace, upright or lower right of circle? 33  $\nu$  . . . , upper and lower arcs of circular letter  $\tau$  . . . , first, back and lower arc of round letter, more ink in the middle? . [ . . . ] . . . , oblique descending gently to join  $\pi$  at two-thirds height 34 ] . . . , see commentary  $\sigma$  . . . , foot of upright or oblique rising to right, then foot of upright joining horizontal ink at line-level  $\tau$  . . . , top of oblique descending from left to right, or upper right-hand arc; ink level with letter-tops, tip of horizontal or rising oblique from the left? 36 ] . . . , apparently right-hand branches of  $\kappa$  or possibly  $\chi$ , but unexplained vertical ink running through ( $\pi$ ?); not  $\epsilon$  39 ] . [ . . . , oblique trace, rising gently from left to right, on promontory of papyrus projecting down from the line above 40 ] . . . , second, apparently horizontal at mid-height joining upright to right 41  $\lambda\sigma$  . . . , omicron corr. from epsilon? 42 ] . . . , foot of oblique descending from left to right  $\rho$  . . . , closed loop ( $\sigma$ ), possibly ink inside ( $\theta$ ) 43 ] . . . , foot of oblique descending from left to right  $\epsilon$  . . . , ink clear;  $\gamma$ , or  $\tau$  with cross-bar truncated to the left 44 ] . . . , shadowy traces of upright on damaged fibres  $\nu$  . . . , ink level with letter-tops (unless this belongs to  $\nu$ ), then perhaps foot of oblique descending from left to right joining foot of upright; rounded nose as of  $\alpha$ ;

upright on the edge 45 ν . . . , left-hand arc of circle (ο, ε); oblique trace rising from left to right at line-level; top of upright (unless this belongs with the previous trace), horizontal at two-thirds height rising gently and then levelling out to ligature with α [ , traces of tall upright on the edge 46 ] ο, apparently the claws of ε, but some vertical ink remains unexplained; traces above ο, remains of a corrected or correcting letter? φ, oblique trace rising gently from left to right, more ink immediately to right, further right apparently foot of upright well below line; of φ the very top and perhaps the foot of the prolonged upright, and a short oblique trace to the right

. . . ] να μὴ { . } πύγιζε . . . πεμμ . [   
 . . . ] με . . . εὔρε[ ] ας ἀμφιβεβ . [   
 . . . ] τεμ . . . ε . ιπιθα . . . ε[   
 . . . ] ον ὦ[ρ] αἶον κόλλοπαν[   
 5 . . . ] ν ὕπνον πύγιζε μες . [   
 . . . ] ουδανπεισθησῶ . . . λε . [   
 μὴ] κ{ε}ίνει Καμάριναν· ὁ γὰρ τόπο[ε - υ υ   
 . . . ] ος εἰς ἡ{ι}βην πικρὸν ἴησι βέ[λος.

ἐπὶ γέροντος παρθένου ἀγομένου

10 παρ]θένον ὠραίαν μὴ λάμ[β]αν[ε - υ υ   
 μῆδ] ἐ λέγε 'πλούτου Κύπρις ἀμε[ινότερον'.   
 μῆδ'] ὠνοῦ ζήλους καὶ δάκρυ[α - υ υ -   
 . . . ] υς καὶ χυλὸν καὶ πτισάν[ην υ υ -   
 μῆδ] δ' ἔχ' ἐπ' εὐζώμοις τὰς ἐλπ[ίδας - υ υ - -   
 15 . . . ] ψεις ποιήσει δ' ἄλλος ομη . [υ υ -   
 . . . ] αἰ κοτυλαῖς καὶ ὁ πλατυ[ - υ υ - -   
 . . . ] . ρωπατρῆ[υ]ς ἡγαγον εἰς πενίη[ν.

(AP 11.328) τήν] μίαν Ἑρμογένης κἀγὼ ποτε καὶ Διδύ[μαρχος   
 ἥγομ]εν εἰς κοινὴν Κύπριν Ἀριστοδίκην,   
 20 ἥς ἔλ]αχον μὲν ἐγὼ πολὺν ἄλα ναιέμεν [αὐτός,   
 εἷς γ]ὰρ ἔν, οὐ πάντες ταῦτα διειλάμεθα,   
 Ἑρμ]ογένης δ' ἔλαχε στυγερὸν δόμον εὐρώεντ[α   
 ὕστ]ατον εἰς ἀφανῆ{ι} χῶρον ὑπερχόμενος   
 ἔνθ'] ἀκταὶ νεκύων καὶ ἔρινοι ἡνεμόεντες   
 25 διν]εῦνται πνο<ι>αῖς δυσκελάδων ἀνέμων,   
 Ζῆν]α δὲ θὲς Διδύμαρχον, ὃς οὐρανὸν εἰσανέβαιν[   
 τὸ ψο]λό[εν] κατέχων ἐν χερσὶ π . . . . .

γῇ δ' ἔμ]εγεν ξυνῆ{ι} πάντων· ψίαθον γὰρ ἐν αὐτῇι  
 στρώ]σαντες τὴν γραῦν ὧδε διειλόμ[ε]θα.

30 τῇν] ἀρχὴν τί δίπουν τετράπουν τε τρ[ί]πουν τ' ἐπὶ γαίῃι  
 οὐ]θεὶς εἶχε λέγειν. ἔστι δ' α[. .] παθικός.  
 οὐ]τος ἔως ἔστη{ι} κε, δίπους· ἀπερὶς[ά]μενος δὲ  
 . . .]χερας ἀμφοτέρους κύβδα χαμαὶ τετ[ρ]άπους.  
 τῶι] φαλλῶι δαυτωιδε τρίπους το ἐφικιοναυτ . .  
 35 ὄν τ]ρόπον ἐν Θῆ{ι}βαις πλησίον ἔστι λέπας.  
 οὐ]κ ἄν τις διέλοιτο σοφώτερον· εἰ τόθ' ὑπῆρχον,  
 ἄν]δρες, ἐγώ{ι}, Θῆβας ἔσχον ἄν ἐπταπύλου[ς].

### ἐπὶ μοιχοῦ

40 πικ]τεύεις μὴ τυρόν, ὄνωι χόρτον, μέλι μῆν[. .]  
 χηισὶ κέριν, κυσὶν ὕν, παιδαρίοις ὑφίδα,  
 (εἰ]μ]άτιον ῥιγοῦντι, θεατρῶ{ι}νι τὸ λόγευμα,  
 ἀθ]λεύ<ου>σι κρέας, ὀψοφάγῳι λοπάδα,  
 ὅς] μετὰ τοῦ μοιχοῦ δ<ε>ιπνῶν Δάμωνος, Ἄλεξι,  
 ἐγ]γὺς ἄγεις αὐτοῦ καὶ τὸ γύναιον ἄμα.  
 45 . . .] ἀνεστάμενος κακυνεῖ, διὰ ταῦτα δ' ὁμο[.  
 . . .]οι τὴν μομφὴν τῶι πατρὶ τῶι δὲ πατρί

### 1–8 Epigram I.

A pederastic epigram, probably complete: eight lines is a standard length; line 1 looks like a beginning, and is taken up by the closing joke in 7. It is true that there is a wider line-space between 2 and 3, as above and below headings; but the same happens between 15 and 16, which cannot be poem-end.

A negative *praeeptum amoris*, as in 10 ff. The poet apparently warns X not to bugger Y: the place, like Camarina, produces harmful discharges. If this overall interpretation is right, the new poem parallels the heterosexual 11.329. Not enough survives to show whether either or both parties had a name (11.329 identifies the addressee as Demonax, but no particular object of his affections).

The certain supplement in 7 shows that c. 3 letters are lost at the line-beginnings. But note that the hand is very irregular; e.g. omicron occurs in larger and smaller forms.

1 Hex. . . .]να μὴ πύγιζε τὸ πεμμ[. [? or πύγιζ' ἐπ[ι]πεμμ[.], ἐπ[ι]πεμμ[. [? At the beginning, one could look for (i) a proper name like Αἴμο]να; (ii) a generic description like ποιμέ]να; (iii) μηθέ]να (unpromising, if the two negatives cancel out). I have wondered whether the same name (if such it is) recurs in 2 –μενος and 8 –πος; but see below on the readings



πεμμ.[: cakes? If so, how do they fit the context? The boy is well-fed, therefore flatulent (cf. Henderson, *The Maculate Muse* (21991) §§ 418, 425)?

Here or later, we need a vocative, and an object?

2 Pent. . . ] με . . . εὔρε[ ] ας ἀμφιβέβ[ ]. At the beginning, a short high trace on the edge; it would suit ε (but there is no trace of the cross-bar); κ, c, τ (?), υ, χ. After με, perhaps αι or λι (alpha would be untypically small?), but ν not excluded; then left-hand arc of circle, further ink to right but not much space (the papyrus is squashed, and might be spread more widely, but not very far if μηπν rather than μη[ ]πν is right in 1). Then perhaps εὔρεας; but if so, the diaeresis must fall before it, and that implies that at least two or three syllables have dropped out earlier in the line. Therefore consider εὔρε[ι]ας; and in fact there may be extra ink after the second ε, where the papyrus overlaps slightly, to allow -ει-. In that case, we look for a dactyl to start: μελ[ι]ς? -μεν[ο]ς[c] (e.g. ἄλ[ι]ςμενος) or e.g. Ε[ἵ]μεν[ε]ς[c] (voc.), if space allows? Then, after the diaeresis, ἀμφιβέβ[ ] . . . The trace looks like an upright, with further ink at mid-height to the right: perhaps η, hardly ω. In the context, one could think of the meaning 'bestride': 'straddling those broad ...?', with a glance at εὐρύπρωκτος?

3 Hex. . . ] τεμ . . . c. ιπιθα . . . ε[ ]. First, part of ν, or sloping foot touching ι? After μ, upright (ι, or letter-beginning), damaged trace and hole, then probably ρωρηι (ρ rather than β, if this scribe always used the cursive form of beta).

If πιθα is word-beginning (one could try e.g. πῖθ'), TLG offers only πιθανός, πιθανεύω,πιθαρχεῖν, πιθανήκη. Spacing would suit; say, πιθαρηγ, which in turn would suit a context of erotic temptation (e.g. Asclep., AP 5.158.1). Not πιθανευομενον or the like (Men. *Dis Ex.* 93); πιθακήκη in Comedy, but traces seem against.

4 Pent. . . τ]ὸν ᾧ[ρ]αῖον κόλλοπαν[?

κόλλοπ' or κόλλοπα. In this context, 'pathic': the sense is attested in Old and Middle Comedy (Plat. Com. fr. 202.5 KA; Diphil. fr. 42.22, Eubul. fr. 10.3KA; κολλοποδιώκτης Com. Adesp. 849 KA) and then by Dioscorides, AP 12.42 (*Hell. Ep.* 1528). Hunter, *Eubulus: the Fragments* p. 100 notes that the lexicographic tradition, perhaps as early as Aristophanes by Byzantium, tended to limit the word to adults (thus Hesych. . . τοὺς κληροῦς καὶ παρηβηκότας παῖδας). That would add another insult here; but ᾧ[ρ]αῖον goes against it.

A possible structure would be μὴ πύγιζε ... ἀλλά (keep away from him): ἀν[αινό]μενος would fit such a context (the verb often of refusing partners).

5 Hex. . . ] ν ὕπνον πύγιζε μες[ ]. To judge from the space, only one or two syllables are lost at the beginning; therefore we must allow for caesura after πύγιζε (i.e. not πύγιζε με). What of the beginning? Either one long syllable, or a trochee; the first syllable of ὕπνος is long most often in AP, but short from time to time, e.g. Crinagoras, 5.119.4, Lucilius, 11.264.1, 277.1 (ἐν ὕπνοις). The first trace clearly suggests ο; μηδ'] ἄν' ὕπνον πύγιζε looks impossible, μηδ'] ἐν ὕπνοις even more. Yet it would suit the logic to repeat μὴ πύγιζε here (the mid-point of the poem), in a more emphatic form: 'Don't touch him even in your dreams' (for the Greek equivalents see Page, *Epigrams of Rufinus* (1978) 98).

μες[ ]: Henderson § 236. But of course one could divide πύγιζ'.

6 Pent. . . ] ουδανπεισθηcor. . . λε[ ]. Prima facie, ἄν πεισθῇ; no iota adscript, although the scribe usually writes it even where it is not wanted. In that case, . . . ]ου δ' or . . . ] οὐδ'. Alternatively, it might be an itacism for πεισθείς, cf. AP 7.683.2 μὴ πεισθείς ... ταῦτ' ἔπαθες; 11.156.3 ἔμοι πεισθείς, 'if you follow my advice'.

Then ορθαλε[ ] looks likely, the last an upright with traces to the right. Dr Rea suggests ὀρθὰ λέγο[ντι φίλωι. Say, παύ]ου δ', ἄν πεισθῇ<ι>c ὀρθὰ λέγο[ντι φίλωι.

7-8 'Do not stir Camarina. The place ... discharges a stinging missile against your manhood.'

7 μὴ] κ{ε}ίνει Καμάριναν. A familiar proverb: W. Bühler, *Zenobii Athoi Proverbia* IV (1982) 199 collects the sources. The general explanation, ἐπὶ τῶν βλαβερώς τι ποιεῖν ἑαυτοῖς μελλόντων, would suffice; but there may be a particular element of malice here, since some sources describe the marsh of Camarina (or a plant *camarina*) as particularly malodorous (EtGen etc.: εἴρηται δὲ διὰ τὴν ἐν αὐτῇ δυσωδίαν· κινουμένης γὰρ αὐτῆς φθορὰ ἐγγίγνεται σώματος). At the same time, as Gideon Nisbet notes, μὴ] κίνει (equivalent to μὴ βίνει) resumes μὴ πύγιζε at the beginning.

ὁ γὰρ τόπος. Commonly of body-parts, and especially of the *pudendum muliebre* (LSJ s.v. 3). But, as Dirk Obbink observes, the word is carefully chosen to give the illusion (initially) of an innocent geographical excursus.

8 . . . ] .oc. The omicron very small, but no other letter seems likely. Before that, an upright with complex ink joining at half-height: probably not ν, but ] .ioc (which also makes best use of a relatively small space). Dr Coles suggests ]φioc, to account for the spread (a flattened 'v' on its side) of the first trace.

ἡ{ι}βην.: 'genitals', Henderson § 20 (so Argentarius, *AP* 9.554.6 = *GP* 1490; Strato, *AP* 12.225.4 'the wife of Heracles').

πικρὸν ἔχει βέλ[ος: πικρὸν ἔπεμψε βέλ[ος Cyrus [of Panopolis, cos. 441], *AP* 7.557.2, of death; ἀνιγρὸν δ' ἐκ πυρὸς ἦκε βέλ[ος Asclepiades, *AP* 5.189.4 (erotic). Here a more physical weapon, with a malicious glance at the erotic sense? The basic language is Homeric: *Il.* 22.206 *ἰέμεναι ... πικρὰ βέλεμνα* etc. Cf. line 25 (more epic).

What is the weapon let fly? (i) *pediconum mentula merdalea est* (Priap. 68.8): the joke goes back to Machon 327–32, and recurs often enough in Latin (see Buchheit, *Studien zum Corpus Priapeorum* (1962) 144; Courtney on Juv. 9.44). Meineke tried to find the same idea in Asclepiades, *AP* 12.42.4–5, but see Gow and Page on *Hell. Ep.* 1526; a close parallel in Strato, *AP* 12.225.4, where again it is ἡβη that suffers. (ii) For πορδή as weapon cf. Hor. *Serm.* 1.8.46; and the Charition mime III 413. Nicarchus (who celebrates King Fart in *AP* 11.395) is certainly familiar with the idea, see 25 below (= *AP* 11.328.8); and it would fit well with the notion (if recognised) of marshy exhalations.

### 10–17 Epigram II: ἐπὶ γέροντος παρθένου[ν ἀγομένου.

An old man should not marry a young wife: it ends in tears and cuckoldry. This piece seems to rework well-worn themes: marry young (Hes., *WD* 695); a young wife does not suit an old husband (Theogn. 457; Eur. fr. 804); marriage costs money (Men. fr. 198; Automedon, *AP* 11.50; that presumably is the point of Lucilius, *AP* 11.388.6—'if you marry to have children, you will be too poor to care for them'), and merely benefits the lover next door (Theogn. 460; Anaxandrides fr. 53.11–12 KA and the proverb γέρων ἐρινὸς εὐφρανεῖ τοὺς γείτονας, Macarius II 97).

9 Title. The heading begins above syllable 4 (out of 15) of line 14, therefore should, if centred, end above syllable 12. If so, there is room for c. 10–12 letters after the break.

παρθένου[ν ἀγομένου or γαμοῦντος: παρθένου[ν (or παρθενί[ου]) would be too short according to the calculation above.

10 Here, or in the lacunas below, we expect a vocative, and perhaps a formal statement that the bridegroom is elderly (but the alert reader will infer this from 10 and 13).

11 The contrast of *amor* and *divitiae* can take various directions: for example, there are dangers in marrying a wife for her money (Stob. 4.22.118 ff.). Here, I assume, the reverse: your money buys you only misery (12) and eventual penury (17).

Last trace, remains of upright ink on the edge. ἀμε[νότερον just exempli gratia (the double comparative is attested at Mimn. fr. 14.9 W and in the anonymous lines quoted by [Ps?]*Philo*, *de aeternitate mundi* 41.8 (= Aristotle fr. 21 Rose) and Philodemus, *Rhet.* II.61 S., οὐδὲ γυνή τοσσόνδε νόου ἐπιδύεται ἐκθλοῦ, / ὥστε χέρειον ἐλέσθαι ἀμεινότερων παρεόντων).

12 μηδ' ]. This assumes that the poem is constructed as a series of prohibitions (concluding in a *gnome*, 16 f.?).

δάκρυα καὶ ζήλους Philodemus, *AP* 5.42.2 (commonly reassigned to Meleager, *HE* 4219; Sider, *Epigrams of Philodemos* no. 13). Presumably those of the jealous husband (as in Philodemus those of the distracted lover).

13 Slops, for the aged or the sick. 'The emotional distress will put you in the hands of the doctors?' 'You will find gruel more suitable to your age than drinking'?

... ]. υc. Presumably a food coordinate with the nouns that follow, say ζωμ]ός (but why the plural?) or πολφ]ός (but too long?). Pollux 6.61–2 collects some related words.

14–15 'Do not trust in aphrodisiacs: some one else will play your part'?

14 εὐζώμοις: *eruca sativa* ('rocket'), well known as an aphrodisiac: see e.g. Dioscorides 2.140 *κυνοσίαν παρορμῆ*; *Cyranides* 1.5.9–20 (pp. 44–5) Kaimakis, where the plant is antiaphrodisiac but the seeds aphrodisiac (part of an 'incomparable' potion ἐάν ... τις τὴν ἡλικίαν ἐστὶ προβεβηκώς καὶ τὸ μόριον ἔχει παρειμένον). For *eruca* see e.g. Mart. 3.75.3. On aphrodisiacs in general, Hopfner, *Sexualleben* (1938) 273–305.

15 ]. ψειc: small ambiguous trace, if trace at all (on twisted fibres). The ending might belong to a noun or to a verb; in either case, unless δ' is postponed, it looks back to the line before, and presumably to a separate clause, e.g. ὦδε γὰρ - or οὐ γὰρ - - ψειc. One possibility: ἀλλὰ ματαίως / τρ]ίψειc (Henderson § 340; Juv. 10.206). ετύ]κειc, cf. in similar context *AP* 10.100.6, cannot be read.

ἄλλος suggests the motif *ἐτέροις γήμας* (Leonid. Alex., *AP* 11.70.4) *ομη.* [: left-hand arc, it seems. If so, not δ[ύνασαι. E.g. ζ[ὺ ποεῖς.

16–17 Not properly understood. *εἰς πενήν[ν* seems clear, and the aorist *ἤγαγον*, after the imperatives and the futures, might suggest a gnomic summing-up. The subject might then be the expenses of the marriage (cf. *AP* 10.119). What would they be? *κοτύλαις* suggests drinking parties (*AP* 11.3.5); if 15 suggests a lover, *ὁ πλατυ*—might refer to him. But that leaves the difficulty of fitting the anticipated consequences of this marriage into a general *gnome*. I had thought of, say, *αἱ πολλ]λαὶ κοτύλαι καὶ ὁ πλατύ[νωτος ἐραστής* (for the insult, cf. *AP* 8.172.1). But already there are difficulties. (i) ]λ (or μ) suits the trace, but *αιπολ]* looks too long; *ἤδη]* δ' *αἱ* would fit better, but the ink discourages ]δ (no real sign of the base). (ii) The papyrus certainly has *κοτυλαις* dative. (iii) If *καὶ ὁ πλατυ* is right, the poet allowed *καὶ* to stand in hiatus, without correption, before the lengthened *ὁ*. The lengthening is normal with Philip's poets (Gow and Page, *GP* I p. xxxviii), hiatus is not; though see *ibid.* p. xli on Crinagoras.

Further difficulties arise in 17. Apparently ]*ο*σσ*ω*πατρ*ης*, where ]*ο* might perhaps be ]*ω*, and the final *c* seems to be corrected from *v*. On the simplest view, the scribe wrote *ρου* and changed it to *ρης*; but that is too simple, since the supposed omicron (a blob much smaller than the normal letter) looks to have been written on top of the eta. *ρης* does at least avoid hiatus with the following eta, and that is a reason for treating it as the final version. Then we have two possible articulations:

(i) ]*ο*σσ*ω* (or ]*ω*σσ*ω*) *πάτρης*. There is no iota adscript, though that is normally written elsewhere. That favours *πρ]όσσω* (or a dual) against *ἐν τ]όσσω* (<*ι*>), *ἐν Κν]ωσσώ* (<*ι*>) or the like; a verb seems unlikely when *ἤγαγον* follows so close.

(ii) ]*ο*ς *σωπατρ*—. This sequence is not attested except in the proper names *Σώπατρος*, *—α*; and Nicarchus does use 'Sosipatros' as the subject of a thin-man joke, *AP* 11.110. But the names, though potentially grand, do not serve elsewhere as indicators of status ('... have brought even aristocrats to poverty'). If there is a direct reference to the name of the husband or the wife, I do not see how to fit it in without substantial violence (say, if the old husband is called Sopater, *καὶ ἄλλους Σωπάτρους ἤγαγον εἰς πενήν*, '... have brought other Sopaters too to poverty').

A quite different approach would take the poet as the adulterer, so that *ἤγαγον* is first person singular; then e.g. *ἐγκει]μαι κοτύλαις καὶ γὰρ* (emendation) ... But then what?

### 18–29 Epigram III: AP XI 328 Νικάρχου

Beckby's edition (1958) reports the text of the Palatinus as follows:

τὴν μίαν Ἑρμογένης καὶ γὰρ ποτε καὶ Κλεόβουλος  
 ἤγομεν εἰς κοινὴν Κύπριν Ἀριστοδίκην.  
 ἥς ἔλαχον μὲν ἐγὼ πολὴν ἄλλα ναιέμεν αὐτός.  
 εἷς γὰρ ἔν, οὐ πάντες πάντα διειλόμεθα.  
 5 Ἑρμογένης δ' ἔλαχε στυγερὸν δόμον εὐρώεντα,  
 ὕστατον, εἰς ἀφανὴ χώρον ὑπερχόμενος,  
 ἔνθ' ἄκται νεκύων καὶ ἔρινεοὶ ἠνεμόεντες  
 δινεῦνται πνοιῇ δυσκελάδων ἀνέμων.  
 Ζῆνα δὲ θεὸς Κλεόβουλον, ὃς οὐρανὸν εἰσαναβαίνειν,  
 10 τὸ ψολόεν κατέχων ἐν χερσὶ πῦρ, ἔλαχεν.  
 γῆ δ' ἔμενε ξυνή πάντων· ψίαθον γὰρ ἐν αὐτῇ  
 στρώσαντες τὴν γραῦν ᾧδε διειλόμεθα.

5 εὐρώεντα P  
 11 ψίαθων P

7 ἔρινεοὶ Jacobs: ἐρμηναιοὶ P

9 δὲ θεὸς Pauw: δεσθεε (the first *c* deleted) P

Corruptions apart, the papyrus shows two substantial variations of text: the name Didymarchus instead of Cleobulus (twice), and apparently a different sentence-structure in 9–10. Did Nicarchus revise his text for a second (or collected) edition?



18 καιω pap.: κἀγώ P, rightly.

διδυ[ here, διδυμαρχον 26 pap.: Κλεόβουλος, Κλεόβουλον P. In life, both names are borne by real people. In the *Anthology*, Didymarchus does not otherwise appear; Cleobulus does, notably as *amatus* in Meleager (named from Anacreon's boyfriend?) and as the Sage of Lindos. It remains difficult, of course, to tell whether Nicarchus' victims were likely to be living acquaintances or fictional types. Here one could argue that 'Kleoboulos' puts the sage in an undignified posture (just as all seven sages deliver laxative precepts in their tavern at Ostia, see Meiggs, *Roman Ostia*<sup>2</sup> 429); 'Didymarchus' could then be a speaking name, cf. *AP* 5.126.6; Sider, *Epigrams of Philodemos* p. 141 (Sider notes DL6.51: Διδύμων was caught in adultery; Diogenes the Cynic commented 'ἄξιός ἐκ τοῦ ὀνόματος κρέμασθαι'). 'Hermogenes' too could be chosen with malice, as Dr Rea suggests, since Hermes has a special role in the underworld (22).

Something similar happens in the poem transmitted under the heading *M[ν]αράλκων* in PKöln V 204.14–17 but ascribed to Hegesippus in *AP* 6.266. However, so little of the context survives that the variation of name can be explained away (Cameron, *The Greek Anthology from Meleager to Planudes* (1993) 3 f.).

Martial offers interesting parallels, discussed by W. M. Lindsay, *The Ancient Editions of Martial* (1903) 21: for example at 1.10.1, where the MSS vary between *Gemellus* and *Venustus*. (No doubt it is coincidental that *Gemell*— corresponds to Διδυμ—, *Venustus* to pretty-boy Κλεόβουλος.) Some have supposed that both were real targets, but at different times; or that one represents the real name, one the cover-name (the same has been claimed, say, for Lateranus/Damasippus at Juv. 8.146). But if it is true that Martial never attacked living persons, both explanations fail. A third possibility is aesthetic: an editor, or Martial himself (Pasquali, *Storia della Tradizione* ... 425), decided to replace one fictional name by another more telling in the context. In any case the variations seem too large to be explained simply as scribal negligence (N. M. Kay, *Martial Book XI* (1985) 4 n. 12).

20 τολιν pap.: πολιν P, rightly.

21 διειλάμεθα pap., but –λόμεθα in 29: –λο– P in both places. The first aorist has a foothold in literary Greek (Gow & Page on *GP* 2885), apart from its presence in NT and increasingly in documents (Gignac II 344 f.), and might even be thought to add a colloquial touch. However, we should assume that the poet used the same form in both lines; and that the scribe was more likely to corrupt the strong form into the weak than vice versa.

ταυτα pap.: πάντα P, rightly (ταῦτα or ταῦτά ruins Nicarchus' double polyptoton).

22 στυγερων pap.: στυγερόν P, rightly.

Apparently ευροεντ[α, not ευρω– pap.: the same unmetrical spelling in P.

24 ]ακτ νεκτων pap., perhaps ]ακται (but αι looks wide for the space, and the first trace high in the line for alpha; ο or ω could be read, and in that case the corruption was wider): ἐνθ' ἄκται νεκύων P.

ἐρνεοί: the papyrus confirms Jacobs' conjecture (from *Il.* 22.145): ἐρμηναιοί P. ἡνεμόεντος pap.: –εντες P, rightly.

25 πνοαις pap.: πνοιῇ P. δυσκελαδ . . . ενεμον pap. (δον could be read, and suits the space better than δων): δυσκελάδων ἀνέμων P, rightly.

26 δεθες pap., as Pauw: δεσθες (the first sigma deleted) P.

διδυμαρχον pap.: Κλεόβουλον P.

εισανεβαιν[ pap.: εἰσαναβαίνειν P, rightly, unless the papyrus had a different reading in 27.

27 τὸ ψο]λό[εν] κατέχων ἐν χερὶ π. . . . . In the first half of the line, the traces suit the transmitted text very well. The end remains difficult (partly because the papyrus has cracked and overlapped itself). P offers πῦρ ἔλαχεν: in the papyrus πυρ might be possible, but hardly ἐλαχεν. Dr Coles thought he recognised πηδάλ; πηδάλιον might then be considered, or more realistically πηδάλ<ι>ον. The participle κατέχων then depends on the finite verb εἰσανέβαιν[εν in 26. πηδάλιον could bear a suitably obscene meaning (Henderson § 63). And yet it all spoils the point: Zeus does not normally wield a rudder, and we miss the catch-word ἔλαχεν.

28 ψιαθον pap., as Brunck had conjectured, rightly: ψιάθων P.

### 30–37 Epigram IV: the Sphinx unriddled

An obscene explanation of the Riddle of the Sphinx. Apparently not the same poem as 3725 fr. 2.8–10 (heading ἐπὶ σφιγγ[ός?]).



The riddle, as quoted from the fourth-century littérateur Asclepiades of Tragilus (FGrH 12 F 7), begins ἔστι δίπουν ἐπὶ γῆς καὶ τετράπον, οὗ μία φωνή, καὶ τρίπον .... Other quotations offer variants, see D. Mastronarde's text of Euripides' *Phoenissae* (Teubner, 1988) pp. 6–7; it has been debated whether the original goes back to epic, or only to tragedy (H. Lloyd-Jones, *Academic Papers* I (1990) 332–4).

The joke may already be known from Comedy: see Henderson § 362 on Anaxilas fr. 22.22 ff. KA (with Callias fr. 28 KA Μεγαρικάι φήγγες). Dirk Obbink notes a similarity with Philodemus, *AP* 11.318 (31 Sider), where an astrological puzzle is resolved obscenely.

30 τετράπουν τε τρ[ί]πουν τ' seems guaranteed by the sense, though twisted fibres make the assignment of traces in ετρα and που rather uncertain.

γαίη, not -ης: ἐπὶ γῆς (rarely γῆν) in the riddle.

31 οὐ[θ]είς: the traces seem to suit theta (parts of cross-bar and right-hand arc) better than delta. In Attic inscriptions, this form dominates in the fourth century and the Hellenistic period; οὐδεὶς reasserts itself in the Roman period (Threatte, *Grammar of the Attic Inscriptions* I (1980) 472 with II (1996) 753). Documentary papyri show both forms coexisting into the second century AD (Gignac I 97). Is the use here a vulgarity? or a look back to New Comedy?

ἔστι δ' α[. .] παθικός: δ(έ) seems necessary, to mark the pay-off; παθικός should be a word by itself (Buck & Petersen cite no compounds). Therefore α[. .] must represent a single iambic word. The gap has room for two or three letters; the final trace is no more than ink level with the letter-tops. We could look for a proper name (but I have nothing more plausible to suggest than Ἀ[δω]ν). Simpler would be ἀ[νῆ]ρ (J. R. Rea); and very much to the point, since (as Dirk Obbink remarks) it recalls the straight answer to the riddle (ἄνθρωπος) before subverting it with παθικός.

παθικός. The noun had been known only from loucher Latin (Cat. 16.2, 57.2, Juv. 2.99; of women, *Priap.* 25.3, 40.4, 73.1; *pathicissimos libellos* Martial 12.95.1); the verb παθικεύεσθαι does occur, once, and precisely in Nicarchus (*AP* 11.73.7). Meanwhile David Bain, *ΣΠΕ* 117 (1997) 81–2, has identified a second Greek example, a graffito backstage in the Odeum at Aphrodisias: 'the generally held view that it was a popular borrowing into Latin is confirmed'.

32–3 An ingenious perversion of the straight explanation (the child crawling on all fours); the participle perhaps glances at the text of the riddle (4 πλεόνεσσιν ἐρειδόμενον ποσί, where other sources have ἐπειγόμενον). ἀπερεῖς[α] μένος seems very likely, but the scribe may have written ο rather than ε.

33 I suppose τὰς χέρας, or better ἐς χέρας (J. R. Rea), and then emend to ἀμφοτέρας.

κύβδα: the vox propria, see J. N. Davidson, *Courtesans and Fishcakes* (1997) 118, 169–72. Aristoph., *Pax* 896–8 τετραποδὸν ... κύβδ' (Henderson § 361).

34 Not really understood. τρίπους is clear, and we therefore expect a perversion of the straight answer 'an old man and his stick' (τρίτατον πόδα βάκτρον ἐρείδει, Mastronarde p. 7). At the beginning, φαλλῶι is tempting: that would be the third leg, as presumably in Theocritus' description of Priapus, *AP* 9.437 (τρικελές: Gow thinks this 'improbable', and prints Jahn's emendation ἀσκελές). However, the palaeography is not straightforward: some elements of the ink suit ]φ or perhaps ]ιφ, but I cannot explain all the traces; θαλλῶι might be better. Then δ' αὐτῶι δέ (or αὐτῶιδε)?

Later, φικίον can be recognised. Φικίον is the mountain of the Sphinx, [Hes.], *Sc.* 33 (=fr. 195.33). There may also be a pun: φίκις is now attested in XLII 3070.5, as well as in Herodian; David Bain has pointed out a third example in PHeid 190 fr. 1.75 (*ΣΠΕ* 52 (1983) 56), where he suggests reading φικιδ[α (or φικιν) for the editor's φικιο[—φικιο]ν might also be thought of (but of course we expect φικίδιον as the diminutive). If there is a pun, it ignores quantity: Herodian explicitly attests the accentuation φίκις, which would suggest that the first syllable was short.

How can these elements be combined? Before φικίον, το ε; the traces most suggest the lower parts of ν or π; perhaps δ, though the space seems narrow; not τ, since there are too many feet. After φικίον, αυτ...; αὐτός or αὐτοῦ look suitable, but not other cases of the pronoun. After that, 35 presumably continues δν τ]ρόπον, which might link the whole verse or just the initial phrase. I have no ideas that do not involve substantial emendation. Say, τῶι φαλλῶι δ' αὐτός τε τρίπους, τὸ δὲ φικίον αὐτοῦ ..., 'He himself has a third leg with his phallus, and ...'. And then? If the next clause expands the same joke, it might perhaps mean '... and his backside (is) like the rock nearby in Thebes' (sticking up in the air). But perhaps, as Dirk Obbink suggests, we should see it as a secondary joke of mythological pseudo-etymology: '... and his backside is (explains the name of) the rock Phikion near Thebes'.

35 Presumably πλῆξιον: ηληξιον pap.

36 εἰ τόθ': εἰτεθ papyrus. I assume that the sense must be 'If I had then existed, gentlemen, I would have won Thebes' (by solving the riddle better than Oedipus); it remains a question whether ἐγὼ attaches to ὑπῆρχον or ἔσχον.

37 ἄνδρες: so Strato, *AP* 12.254.2; and the programmatic address to the reader which began Agathias' anthology, *AP* 4.3a. Did the epigrammatists simply borrow this from New Comedy (see e.g. Handley on Men., *Dysk.* 194)? or had they their own specific audience (at symposia or recitations) in mind?

ἐπταπύλους: (Boeotian) Thebes, *Il.* 4.406, *Od.* 11.263.

### 38 ff. Epigram V: 'On an adulterer'

'You are entrusting cheese to a mouse, hay to a donkey, honey to bees [?], chicory to geese, boar to dogs, raiment to slaves, a cloak to a shivering man, the entrance fees to a theatre-manager, meat to athletes, a casserole to a gourmet—you, Alexis, who, dining with the adulterer Damon, bring your woman near him as well. Risen from table, he'll corrupt her; and thus [your son?] doesn't look like [?] you, his "father"—but like his (real) father.'

Dining out gives the seducer his chance: that is a regular theme of Roman poetry (thus Horace, *Carm.* 3.6.25 ff.; Ovid., *AA* 1.229 ff., 569 ff., *Am.* 1.4 with McKeown, *Juv.* 1.57 with Courtney).

39 πικ[τε]ύεις looks very likely (the first trace is of γ or τ). The first four lines represent a kind of priamel, in which first animals, then slaves, then people, are juxtaposed with something they might find desirable and indeed consumable. The priamel has its own internal construction: crescendo from mouse to gourmet, cheese to casserole; in 41–2 two balancing pairs—the indigent against the capitalist, carnivorous athlete against (fish-eating) foodie. Symbolic food then leads on to the real dinner in 43.

μυτ: μη pap., a clear corruption (graphic, or phonetic?). For mice and cheese, cf. *Τυρογλύφος*, *Τυροφάγος* *Batrachom.* 137, 223.

ὄνωι. Proverb ὄνος εἰς ἄχυρα Philemo fr. 158 KA etc.; but χόρτος of course is green fodder.

μέλι μηγ[ ]: an unsolved problem. The traces most suggest μηγ[ ], though μηι[ ] could be considered; one syllable should be lost at the end. What creature is drawn to honey, as mice are to cheese? Bears eat it (Aristotle, *HA* 594<sup>b</sup>8), so do bees (623<sup>b</sup>18). Bees look likeliest in real life; and that would suggest μέλι μῆγ[ε]ι, 'honey to the swarm'. But I have found no example of *σμῆνος* so spelled (on the pattern μικρός/σμικρός, see the examples in Schwyzler I 311). Dr Rea suggests that we have the same corruption here as earlier in the line, μη for μυι, i.e. originally μυίη or μυίαις. Flies certainly hasten to honey (*AR* 4.1453; *Aes. Fab.* 293). Yet the palaeography remains difficult: μηγ[ ] (or μηγ[α]ις) is an unlikely reading, μηγαι[ ] seems excluded.

40 χηιςι cέριν. There are other creatures that enjoy endive. Ammianus, *AP* 11.413.3, lists it among the dishes at Apelles' dinner more fit for πρόβατα than his friends: but οἰεῖ (too short) or βουεῖ cannot be read. In fact, the second trace suggests a horizontal at two-thirds height: that, and the space (since χ is typically very wide) would suit χηιςι; *seris* is mentioned as a favourite food for geese by Varro *RR* 3.10.5 and *Col.* 8.14.2.

ὑφίδα: the word is not attested in LSJ or its Revised Supplement or in TLG. *παρυφίδα* Clearchus ἐν τετάρτῳ βίων ap. Athen. XII 522D = fr. 48 Wehrli (a transparent garment worn by the luxurious Tarantines); Men. fr. 414 (and Pollux there quoted). *παρυφές* Aristoph. fr. 332.7 KA, among the luxuries of Attic ladies. There presumably the idea of luxury lies in *παρ-*: something is woven into, or around, the plain weave.

Slaves wore a tunic, *Juv.* 1.93 (the spendthrift does not even give them that); they might get some kind of cloak, Pers. 1.54, *Juv.* 9.68. What is the idea here: slaves (so presumably, not 'kids') will grab any garment? or a garment more covering or more elegant than their norm? But, as Dr Rea observes, the singular is a little odd; and if *ἱματίον* is restored in the next line, we have two clothing jokes on the trot. Symmetry would indeed suggest some kind of food stuff: emend e.g. to ἀφύην? or *cfυρίδα* = *sportulam* (J.R. Rea)?

41 ἱματίον: to judge from the spacing, the scribe wrote *εἱματίον*. This is normally an outer garment, to go on top of the χιτῶν (see Bauer-Aland s.v.). Of possible alternatives, *στρωματίον* looks too long.

θεατρώνης quoted by TLG only from Theophr. *Char.* 30.6. A. Müller, *Lehrbuch der griechischen Bühnenalterthümer* (1886) 343 translates 'Theaterpächter' (elsewhere *θεατροπώλης*, Pollux 7.199 ὁ θεῖον ἀπομιθεῖν, or ἀρχιτέκτων, Dem. 18.28), and compares the ὠνηταί mentioned in connection with the theatre at Piraeus, IG ii<sup>2</sup> 1176.

λόγευμα does not appear in TLG, but does occur in documentary papyri; it there means 'sum collected',

normally by taxation. (For the parent verb, see Polyb. 31.31.1 τὸ λογευθέν, 'the money raised' by the sale of wheat.) Since this is something appetising to the theatre-lessor, does the word here refer to ticket money? or should we visualise three tiers?—the city rents its theatre to the lessor, who then collects fees from companies using it?

42 ἀθ]λεύ<ου>κι κρέας. There are two problems here. (i) Space at the line-beginning is short for the two syllables required by the metre; if this was a noun in -εucci, I have found nothing suitable. (ii) The scribe apparently wrote κροας; δικροας cannot be read. The double conjecture printed restores the cliché of the beef-eating athlete: for material see J. Haussleiter, *Der Vegetarismus in der Antike* (1935). Dirk Obbink suggests alternatively <τοις> ἐ]ρεῦci (a glance at the proverbial greed of Delphians at the sacrifice, see Pfeiffer on Call. fr. 191.27); but the initial oblique trace seems less suitable to rho, which normally has a straight stem.

λοπάδα. The shallow (lidded?) casserole, illustrated by B. A. Sparkes, *JHS* 82 (1962) 130 and pl. VI. In Comedy it has frequent associations with fish and with sizzling. By transfer, the word may mean 'a savoury dish', so in Crates *SH* 353.1 and Glaucus, *AP* 12.44.3 (*Hell. Ep.* 1813), and perhaps Hipparchus *SH* 496.1 (though there 'shellfish' would also suit). Dr Rea notes that it may also mean 'limpet', more usually λεπάς; the spelling in -ο- is quoted from Galen 4.670 and as a variant at Theophr. *HP* 4.6.7 and Orib. *syn.* 4.2.4, and already in Plautus *Rud.* 297, fr. 102 as transmitted. The limpet certainly figures with other edible shellfish (Athen. 86-7), and as a delicacy (among *molliculas escas*) at Plautus *Cas.* 493.

43 δειπνών: διπνον pap.

Δάμωνος: the name has no typological function in epigram: *AP* 7.548; 12.35 (amatus); 11.125 (undertaker). But for a Damon in Nicarchan context note 3725 fr. 3.6.

Ἀλεξι: often the amatus (*AP* 7.100, 12.127, 164, 229; so always in Martial as a borrowing from Virgil), but a priest in *AP* 6.51 and an incompetent doctor in *AP* 11.122 (which P assigns to Callicter, Pl to Nicarchus).

44 ἐγ]γύς seems to suit the traces, so far as they go, but is by no means certain. There is a difficulty here. If we take ἐγ]γύς αὐτοῦ together, αὐτοῦ, καί and ἔμα all seem redundant. Should we emend to αὐτόν ('bring him and your woman close together')? That would be more pointed than <ς>αυτόν.

γύναιον. Wife, presumably, if paternity is an issue in what follows.

45 I have considered two readings here.

(i) ...] ἀνεστάμενος κακυνεῖ (καχυνει papyrus): the ζ is represented only by a low oblique trace, then high ink and a rising horizontal which I have taken as the upright and upper branch of κ. The disadvantages of this are that ζ would be rather small; κ would touch the following letter, which is not normal; χ must be corrected to κ. Nonetheless, it might give a suitable, if banal, sense: 'As soon as he has got up from table, he will corrupt her'. For this sense of the verb: the iambs printed as Com. Adesp. 138.2 Kock (omitted by KA), οἶδε γὰρ συνουσία/φαύλη κακύνειν; Dio Cassius 60.2.4 ὑπὸ τε τῶν ἐξελευθέρων καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν γυναικῶν, αἷς κυνῆν, ἐκακύνετο.

(ii) ...] ἀνεστάμενον ταχυνεῖ. This may be palaeographically preferable, but I do not see how it would fit the sense. 'As soon as you stand up, he'll speed you on your way'?—so as to be left alone with your wife?

In either case, I find it difficult to suggest a connective supplement for the line-beginning: e.g. οὐκέτ'] or εὐθύς] would be too long, judging from the plausible restorations in 39-44.

45-6 The repetition of πατρί suggests that paternity is put in doubt by adultery. The lover fathers the child, and the husband unsuspectingly accepts it? Or each fathers a child on the same woman (Mart. 10.95)?

45 δομο. [. The trace is upright, descending somewhat below the line. One could think, say, of δόμοι[cin, if a construction could be found. But διὰ ταῦτα suggests consequences, and that suggests a new clause: therefore divide δ' ομο. [, and consider supplements from ὁμοιος (legitimate children resemble their father, Lucilius *AP* 11.215).

46 τὴν μομφήν: the first μ seems likely, though somewhat damaged (at least I cannot make any better sense of it as αλ or λα); the second depends on a short initial rising oblique, and does not explain what seems to be the foot of an upright well below the line. Gideon Nisbet observes that, if this is to be the paternity joke, μορφῆν would fit the sense much more directly; it is tempting to think that a second μ was corrected to ρ, but the low upright trace seems actually too low for the typical ρ.

If we accept μορφῆν as reading or emendation, and the basic sense as 'your child looks, not like you his father, but like his (real) father', we could pursue two approaches. (i) διὰ ταῦτα δ' ὁμοί[αν/οὐ] σοὶ τὴν μορφῆν τῷ πατρί, τῷ δὲ πατρί ... δέ then completes a contrast begun by οὐ]. We lack subject and verb, but they may have followed in a fifth couplet in the next column. (ii) If we stick with eight lines (and that is a likely length), we have to provide a verb. I had thought of δη]λοῖ or the like, but ]ς looks very likely and I cannot think of a verb to incorporate it; in any case οὐ] has its advantages. More economical would be ὁμοι[οῖ



(μορφήν object) or ὁμοί[ος (-ον) sc. ἐστι (μορφήν accusative of respect). The change of tense from the future is not ideal; and in any case the subject, if it is the child, is still missing. I see no way of meeting this difficulty except by emendation, i.e. by writing παῖς in place of τήν or of the first τωι.

Foot of column. We have no means of telling whether the poem ended here: any paragraphos would be lost with the left-hand margin; an isolated trace lower down to the right, below the alpha of πατρι, has no obvious significance.

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### 4503–4507. ANOUBION, Elegiacs

Plates XI–XIV

Hephaestion of Thebes (2.2) writing in the 380's could quote from *Ἀνουβίων ἐν τοῖς ἐλεγείοις* a half-dozen distichs of a *Lehrgedicht* of venerable antiquity. **4503–4505** preserve parts of this poem on the science of astrology by Anoubion of Diospolis which circulated at least as early as the second century. His collection of astrological lore, like that of his predecessor Dorotheus Sidonius, was an authoritative source of predictions to professional astrologers down through the Byzantine period.

Attribution of **4503–4505** is secured by the fact that they can be seen turned more or less word for word into Latin in sections 2.4.1–6 and 6.29–31 of Firmicus Maternus' *Mathesis*. Firmicus elsewhere (4.1.1) seems to credit Anoubion as a source (see below). Use of Anoubion by Firmicus in book 6 was first postulated by W. Kroll, *CCAG* II (1900) 159–60, cf. 204 n. 1 on the basis of correspondences between Firmicus and a prose paraphrase said to be ἐκ τῶν Ἀνουβίωνος (in part *CCAG* II 204–12, re-edited in full as Dorotheus fr. II 14–33 pp. 345–67 Pingree; cf. *CCAG* II 159–80). In the ms. (Cod. Venetus) this follows on directly from a brief anonymous prose treatise (*CCAG* II 202–3) in which four elegiac distichs are quoted (without author). An additional elegiac distich is quoted explicitly from Anoubion by the late antique astrological writer Rhetorios *CCAG* VIII 4.208 (ἐπαινῶ καὶ τὸν Ἀνουβίωνα εἰρηκότα οὕτως κτλ.). By these means S. Weinstock, 'A New Anubio Fragment', *Cd'E* 27 (1952) 210–17 identified a direct link between the astrological elegiacs P. Schubart 15 (P. Berol. inv. 9587, iii AD) and Firmicus 6.31.78–85, pointing to Anoubion as their author. **4503–4505** therefore confirm Kroll and Weinstock, and show that Firmicus derived much else from Anoubion besides. The new fragments, presented below with their corresponding sections in Firmicus printed in parallel columns, roughly treble the number of verses of Anoubion previously known, and expand our view of an author who was previously but a little-known figure of legend.

**4503** contains the proem, introducing the principles of the science, especially the ὥρονόμοι, 'hour-regulators' and δεσπόται, 'ruling signs' in divination by astrology. **4503** and **4504** together preserve parts of the body of the poem, consisting of a catalogue of individual predictions.



**4505** gives us further excerpts, and also a book division, colophon, title, and book number: Book 3.

**4506** and **4507** are identifiable as astrological elegiacs, but have not been localised; they provide additional testimony for astrological elegiacs on papyrus, and add a few words to the poetic repertoire of the Greek astrological poets. III **464**, P.Ryl.III 488, P. Schubart 16 and PSI III 157, together with Manetho bk.5 and Julian the Arian pp. 255, 260 Hagedorn (see introd. to **4506**), likewise contain astrological elegiacs and have on this basis alone been claimed for Anoubion, but these lack the exact textual correspondence with Firmicus found in **4503–4505** and P. Schubart 15.

THE POEM: an ambitious composition, on a scale which challenged the author's talents: **4505** and P. Schubart 15 show at least four books. **4503–4505** come from book 3. It contained its own proem, addressed to a reader or potential astrologer in the second person, covering principles of the science and 'operator's instructions' for the use of the book. Subjects of books 1–2 are unknown; presumably they covered other main divisions of the science: the orderly arrangement of the fixed stars, the τάξις of the sun, moon and five planets and their conjunctions and phases (the paraphrase CCAG II 204–12 bears the title *Περὶ τῶν πρὸς ἀλλήλους σχηματισμῶν τῶν ἀστέρων, ἐκ τῶν Ἀνουβίωνος*). Book 3 treated the ἀνατολαί, 'risings' of the ὠρονόμοι (cf. Clem. Alex. *Strom.* VI 35 ff.) and the δεσπόται at the hour of birth as a determination of one's fate. Book 4 (probably in part P. Schubart 15) may have been a miscellaneous collection of predictions.

Noteworthy is the emergence of a proem and of second person direct addresses (**4503** front fr. 2.6; back fr. 2.3–6 esp. 5 ἀγγείλειαι; var. lect. in **4504** ii 2 εὔροις; **4505** fr. 2.5 ἐνὶ θεῖς εἴη; cf. Anoubion ap. Hephaestion 2.2. (p. 90 Pingree) v. 1 μάθοις). They add a new dimension to A.'s poem, revealing an author who is less of a hack compiler, and one more fully engaged in the literary if lapidary construction of an authoritative didactic poem. The identity of the addressee, and whether he was named, are unknown. Did the Greek-Egyptian author, with a suitably theophoric pseudonym 'Anoubion', address his poem to a priest-in-training, a ὠρολόγος who would report his findings as the proem says (**4503** back fr. 2.5)? For the practice of predictive astrology by priestly staff in Greco-Roman temples see A. Jones, 'The Place of Astronomy in Roman Egypt', *Apeiron* 27 (1994) 25–51 esp. 41–6. Dorotheus' poem was addressed to his son (1 pr. 3 pp. 3, 161 Pingree); his predictions are often couched in the form of what one should say to the person consulting the astrologer (e.g. 5.34 v. 4 p. 407 Pingree φράζεο νείκεα ταῦτα). Cf. **4503** back 3–6. The author of the Manethoniana, in keeping with his pseudonym, dedicated and addressed his *Apotelesmatica* to 'King Ptolemy' (6.1 βασιλεῦ Πτολεμαῖε, cf. 35, 207, 5.1). Petosiris and Nechepso also seem to have addressed a king: fr. 37–8 Riess, (*Philol.* Supplbd. 6 (1891–3) 327–94; Pingree, 'Petosiris, Pseudo-', in *Dictionary of Scientific Biography* 10 (1974) 547–9) τῷ τιμιωτάτῳ βασιλεῖ (they may also have written in verse). Firmicus Maternus addresses his prose *Mathesis* to his associate Mavortius, who is frequently exhorted. Manilius dedicated his *Astronomica* to Caesar (Augustus) in the proem to book 1, though the address is later forgotten. On the

addressee in astrological literature see D. Konstan, in *Conventional Values of the Hellenistic Greeks*, edd. P. Bilde *et al.* (1997) 159–76 at 160 with n. 9; in didactic poetry generally: J. S. Clay *et al.* edd., *Mega nepios: il ruolo del destinatario nell'epos didascalico*, *MD* 31 (Pisa 1994). Housman took a dim view (on Manilius 3.vi) of its significance: 'Liars need not have long memories if they address themselves to fools, who have short ones. An astrological poet writing his third book may safely forget his second, because an astrological reader will never remember it'. Even as a thinly veiled literary device, the second person address giving 'operators' instructions' may point to a purported practical use.

RELATION TO FIRMICUS: **4503–4505** show that Firmicus' Latin version in book 6 is not only dependent on A.'s *Lehrgedicht* as a source, as Weinstock demonstrated, but is an almost word-for-word translation of it (so already R. Merkelbach, *APF* 16 (1956) 86 on P. Schubart 15). Close correspondence with the Latin version allows for a precise reading and reconstruction, showing in places how faithful Firmicus could be to his Greek sources; the divergences show how much change the tradition could undergo, either revised and refined by successive astrologers, corrupted by scribes, or excerpted and anthologised by editors. Firmicus' divergence from the Greek text is apparent at e.g. **4503** back fr. 2.9–12 and **4504** ii 2–4. In some cases we must reckon that the difference between Anoubion and Firmicus is due to alteration in the transmission of the former. For we cannot be certain that the text as witnessed in the papyrus was in every case identical with the one used by Firmicus or an intermediary.

Firmicus' version eliminates the second person addresses, exhortations, and asseverations, prosaically elaborates A.'s lapidary poetic diction, and embellishes some of the predictions at the end of A.'s third book with exempla drawn from figures of mythology and history, from Oedipus to Demosthenes, who, he claims, instantiate persons who were born under the signs and who were subject to the predictions in question. It is clear from **4504** and **4505** that the exempla were not present in Anoubion, though we find them in Manetho. Their absence makes A.'s verses look bare and practical by comparison. In addition to embellishing the predicted outcomes, Firmicus refined and in some cases appears to have materially altered the technical content in A., namely, the positions of the planets which determine each prediction, no doubt adding new ones of his own devising or from other sources.

STRUCTURE: Firmicus' text establishes the order of Anoubion's fragments as they appeared in the original poem. After a systematic proem (**4503** front), it covered (at least) the same ground as sections 29–31 in book six of Firmicus (predictions of ill-omen, especially under the influence of Venus). **4503–4505** can all be ordered within these sections of Firmicus:

- (i) **4504** (~6.29.23–30.3)
- (ii) **4503** back (~6.30.6)
- (iii) **4505** (~6.30.20–3)

(The ordering as presented in this edition is slightly illogical, since **4503** back is presented following directly upon **4503** front. In the original poem, **4503** back would have fallen between **4504** and **4505**.) Within each fragment the predictions themselves follow the same order as in Firmicus. This makes it possible to reconstitute the original order of the fragments in A.'s poem according to the sequence in Firmicus. In addition to the borrowings in book 6, Firmicus also borrowed material from A.'s proem in **4503** front (or a common source very like it) for his introduction in book 2 (sections 1–4). **4505** preserves the end and colophon to A.'s book 3. This book division also exactly corresponds to a structural division at Firmicus 6.30.26 (see on **4505** fr. 2.13). This means that P. Schubart 15 (~Firmicus 6.31.78–85) must come from book 4+. Some of the quotations of A. in Hephaestio and others, dealing with astrological method, technique, and principles can be conjecturally placed in one or another of the books. See on **4503** front fr. 2.15.

**LIFE AND TIMES:** Many astrologers composed predictions which circulated in hexameter collections, and a select but distinguished cadre of Greek and Latin didactic poets indulged their skills in versifying the τέχνη ἀστρολογική. But the only astrological poet known to us or to the compilers of the late-antique handbooks who wrote elegiacs is Anoubion (so already Kroll, *CCAG* II 202 n. 1). Of Anoubion himself we know barely enough to constitute a myth of authorship. According to ps.-Clement Rom., *Homil.* 4.6,2 he worked as an ἀστρολόγος at Diospolis. Presumably he hailed from Diospolis Magna, capital of the Theban nome in Upper Egypt with its great temples, rather than the nearby Diospolis Parva, or Diospolis κάτω in the Delta. This accords well with the name, which occurs frequently in the Theban region (though not, of course, exclusively so), being formed from the root of Anubis, the jackal-form divinity worshipped there (see R. Bagnall, B. W. Frier, and I. C. Rutherford, *The Census Register P.Oxy. 984: The Reverse of Pindar's Paeans*, *Papyrologica Bruxellensia* 29 (Bruxelles 1997) 24, 114–18). In addition the area was renowned as a centre of esoteric science: see P. Kingsley, *Ancient Philosophy, Mystery and Magic: Empedocles and the Pythagorean Tradition* (Oxford 1995). According to the *Suda* entry, the Ptolemaic priest and historian Manetho also came from the Theban Diospolis (alternatively he was from Sebennytus, or a priest at Heliopolis); later on Hephaestio worked there.

Ps.-Clement (ad loc.) gives Anoubion his greatest claim to fame: a prominent place among the thirty μαθηταί of Simon Magus, thus putatively in the time of Nero (Riess, *RE* I (1894) 2321–2). Anoubion is singled out, together with the Alexandrian grammarian Apion Πλειστονίκη and the Epicurean philosopher Athenodorus of Athens—a circle of dubious intellectual authorities (philosopher, astrologer, grammarian), who could have rubbed shoulders with the famous wizard. No doubt they were carefully chosen to lend credibility to ps.-Clement's novelistic account (M. J. Edwards, 'The *Clementina*: A Christian Response to the Pagan Novel', *CQ* 42 (1992) 259–74; id. 'Simon Magus, the Bad Samaritan' in M. J. Edwards and S. Swain, *Portraits: Biographical Representation*



in the *Greek and Latin Literature of the Roman Empire* (1997) 69–91). According to ps.-Clement, Apion and Anoubion cultivated an allegiance to Simon, until his expulsion from Egypt and flight to Sidon; after this they tried to distance themselves from him. Simon's interest in astrology (for which see Edwards in *CQ*, pp. 86–7) accounts for ps.-Clement's association of him with Anoubion. The association becomes more credible if A. was the author of a recondite yet fashionable didactic poem on the subject which circulated in contemporary circles, one which directed readers to try their hand at the art. Apion was a well-known Alexandrian intellectual and scholar, also noted for his role (which brought him to Rome) in anti-Jewish activities at Alexandria, opposed by Josephus in his *Contra Apionem*. (He also wrote a *Περὶ τοῦ μάγου*: fr. 28 *FHG* iii p. 515.) Athenodorus of Athens is otherwise unknown; perhaps his name was chosen for its geographical associations, adding Athens to Alexandria and Diospolis, and implying that Simon drew followers from a broad spectrum of centres of learning. Objections to the identification may be raised: there may well have been more than one astrologer named Anoubion who worked in Egypt—where the name is common: an Aurelios Anoubion, public doctor appears in LXIII 4370; an Aurelius Sinouthis son of Anoubion in LX 4090, etc. And there is no testimony that ps.-Clement's Anoubion wrote verse. On the other hand, the fact that only one Anoubion is recorded (and uniquely as an elegiac poet) in the later astrological tradition suggests that the link is more than coincidental, and that the author of the pseudo-Clementine homily appropriated a figure of notoriety in order to lend plausibility and contemporary colour to his account.

In the fourth century Firmicus used at least those passages which correspond with 4503–5, P. Schubart 15, and *CCAG* II 202–212. At 3.1.1 Firmicus cites as his sources for the horoscope of the world 'Hanubius' and 'Aesculapius': *mundi itaque genituram hanc esse voluerunt secuti Aesculapium et Hanubium, quibus potentissimum Mercurii numen istius scientiae secreta commisit*. Firmicus seems to mean that Hermes Trismegistus revealed the principles of astrology to the gods Asclepius and Anubis, and that he depends upon their teaching. That Firmicus' 'Hanubius' is identical with the poet Anoubion (so Usener, *RhMus* N.F. 55 (1900) 335 n. 1) has been doubted (e.g. Gundel and Gundel, *Astrologoumena* 156 n. 45). But Firmicus tells us further that 'Aesculapius' in fact had revealed these secrets in a book, entitled *Moirogenesis* (so the Budé editor, P. Monat, *Firmicus Maternus, Mathésis*, vol. 3 (Paris 1997): *myriogenesis* *MPR N* Kroll *et al.*, see her explanatory note, vol. 3, p. 285–6; Aesculapius' book also cited at 5.1.36 and 8.18.1). It is reasonable to think that Firmicus similarly used writings by 'Hanubius' (i.e. Firmicus' Latin version of *Ἀνουβίων*). On these grounds Weinstock suggested that Anoubion is a theophoric pseudonym formed from Anubis/Anubius, and that the poem is thus pseudepigraphical. Comparable in this respect would be the writings that passed in antiquity under the names of Hermes, Orpheus, Nechepso and Petosiris, Ammo. In a work by Ostanes (fr. A 1 BC = Psell., ed. Bidez, *Cat. alchim.* gr. 6.44) Anubis appears as a commentator on a famous alchemical work, the *Heptabiblos* of Hermes Trismegistus. But the inclusion of Anoubion in a historical context by ps.-Clement seems to suggest at least a belief in a known individual who, under the name of Anoubion, had gained a degree of notoriety.



The papyrus fragments show that the elegiac poem which passed under his name was in circulation by the second century. Notices of him by Hephaestion and later astrological writers betray a view of him as a didactic technician, rather than a mythical bearer of revealed knowledge. His reputation as an astrological *writer* persisted through the Byzantine period. Tzetzes (*Exeg. Iliad.* p. 33, 15; 54.1 Herm.=Dorotheus fr. IIIc–d Stegemann, Appendix III F 1–2 Pingree) includes him together with Dorotheus and Kolokyntos in a list of astrological writers. Pseudo-Clement's association of Anoubion with Egypt and Diospolis may mean that the name conveyed hieratic associations (the author of the *Manethoniana* adopted his pen-name not from a god but from the famous Ptolemaic Egyptian priest and historian) or local colour.

At the same time the relative dating of Anoubion and Manetho is not clear. Judged by his simpler, lapidary constructions, limited poetic vocabulary, and the absence of rhetorical exempla (see below on **4504** ii 16; **4505** introd., fr. 2.9, 13), Anoubion might be a first or early second century intermediary between Dorotheus and the *Manethoniana*, or he might be an incompetent imitator of the latter. Gundel and Gundel, *Astrologoumena* 155, 380 accepting the identification with ps.-Clement's Anoubion, give the astrological poet a Neronian dating (or even earlier, if A. was indeed cited by the first century BC Antiochus of Athens, as suggested by Cumont, *CCAG* VIII 4.115; cf. D. Pingree, 'Antiochus and Rhetorius', *CPh* 72 (1977) 203–23; Pingree, *The Yavanajātaka of Sphudjīdhvaja*, Harvard Oriental Series 48 (1978) ii 422 (I owe the reference to Alexander Jones) rejects the identification (but offers no reasons), and opts for a second–third century AD date, 'after Dorotheus and before Firmicus'. But since Dorotheus presents horoscopes for people born in a range from 7 BC to 43 AD, Anoubion could be late first century. **4503** and **4505** make it unlikely that he is to be dated after the second century. For the dating of the *Manethoniana* see J. R. Rea on XXXI **2546** (80 AD on the basis of the author's own horoscope); Gundel and Gundel, *Astrologoumena* 160, 380 (130–150 AD).

CONTENT: The proem of A.'s third book presents rudimentary principles for the *ὥρονόμοι* (the term employed unusually at **4503** front fr. 2.3, 11 to denote the decans) and the 'ruling signs' (the subtitle at **4505** fr. 2.12 *Περὶ τοῦ δεσπότο[υ]*), their subdivisions and influencing signs, and how to predict men's characters and futures based on the risings of these signs. Most of A.'s predictions are based on the *ὥροσκόπος* or sign that rises at the hour of one's birth, and thus derive from genethliological astrology. **4504**, however, also deals explicitly with the ruling sign (*δεσπότης*) of the marriage (a digression paralleled in Firmicus). Consultation of Anoubion's poem enabled someone who knew the arrangement of signs at the hour of one's birth or marriage to arrive at a prediction of one's character or fortune. It will not have told one how to compute that arrangement: for that task consultation of a calendrical table of computations or *ephemeris* will have been required (see Jones, *Apeiron* 27 (1994) 25–51).

Each prediction takes the form of a condition in *ἐάν* + subj. (or equivalent) specifying the arrangement of star-signs at birth (or marriage), followed by a statement in the

present or future indicative of the individual's character or fortune. This pattern, standard in all handbooks of divination, is repeated endlessly. The result is the compilation, by or for the astrologer, of a catalogue of tried and tested data, for purposes of reference, not continuous reading. Notably, however, almost all of A.'s surviving predictions are predictions of ill-omen. Most of them paradoxically involve Venus, whose influence is normally benefic in its own right. But in A.'s predictions the results are dire and unfortunate (4503 back 6 ff. begins with a mixed blessing, but turns sour by its end), and reveal a predominance of concerns about eros together with marriage, family, and property—i.e. a sensational, dramatic version of what appear in the prose handbooks as desirable outcomes alternating with bad. This pattern changes, however, abruptly at the end of book 3 (as given in 4505): the predictions change to good and the book ends on a positive note in a second person address (fr. 2.6) that offers a gesture of closure.

As a poet Anoubion emerges from the new fragments more rudimentary and concise in his formulation of astrological relationships than Dorotheus, and less refined than Manetho in versification and less elaborate in expression, though more innovative in metrical form. All three writers clearly worked in the same tradition, grafting the latest science of the day on to a data-base of purported past results, while striving for elegant poetic exposition.

It is unknown whether A. composed the poem of his own devising, or rather was versifying a prose *τέχνη*, in the way that Aratus had versified a prose treatise by Eudoxus, and Lucretius one by Epicurus. Perhaps A. drew on a prose source for the exposition of method and principles in the proem(s). The fact that the predictions in A.'s poem always begin with the hexameter (although they may be modified or specified in the pentameter) suggests that (apart from the proem) we have a modular collection of individually-turned astrological epigrams. The open-ended, expandable nature of A.'s collection (like the Manethoniana), and the epigrammatic form of the predictions cast in elegiac distichs raise the possibility that it may have been redacted and excerpted or augmented over time. Multiple redaction and anthologisation is exactly what we would expect to lead to the kind of textual disruption we find in the fragments and mss.: prose headings in 4505 and III 464; lines which have dropped between successive hexameters or pentameters in 4503–4505, P. Schubart 15, and Manetho book 5.

Exact audience and readership, whether practical or literary or both, remains a point for speculation. That no fewer than four (and possibly as many as eight) copies of A. survive on papyrus from Oxyrhynchus alone suggests a vogue for the practice of astrology, and a wide dissemination for the work. (The provenance of P. Schubart 15 is unknown: cf. O. Neugebauer and H. B. van Hoesen, 'Astrological Papyri and Ostraca: Bibliographical Notes', *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 108 (1964) 58: from the 'Collection Reinhardt'). The papyrus copies also attest a fascination among the classes that could afford to cultivate astrological erudition in a literary and metrically refined form. On poetry as an Egyptian preference in literary studies, see J. R. Rea on LXIII 4352 introd.; E. L. Bowie, *ANRW* II 33.1 (1989) 209–58 at 230 ff.; on elegiacs: id. in *The Greek Renaissance in the Roman Empire* (BICS Suppl. 55) 204 ff.

It is likely that A.'s survival in the papyri is due to prominence at Alexandria (where his presence is attested by ps.-Clement) and editorial activity there, though it is not impossible that copies of his poem made their way to Oxyrhynchus from Theban or other temple-centres. Since Oxyrhynchus has so far not shown any connection between predictive astrology and temple activities (Jones, *Apeiron* 27 (1994) 46, cf. XXXI 2553 Calendar of Offerings), interest in the poem there might be assumed to be secular and/or professional. (On the other hand, we do not have precise provenances for the surviving Oxyrhynchus astrological papyri.) Verse was a common mode of presenting technical subjects for practical use (cf. Apollodorus of Athens' *Chronica* in iambic trimeters). From Aratus to Dorotheus the hexameter had long since been the medium of choice for astronomical and astrological poetry (as for oracles in general). (For didactic poems on astrology of Byzantine date, see W. Hübner, *Pallas* 30 (1985) 4 n. 16.) The choice of elegiac metre marks A.'s poem out as exceptional. Apart from literary and funerary epigrams, elegiacs are rare in the imperial period, especially for technical or narrative exposition. Ovid's use of elegiacs to cast Latin love poetry in didactic form, and later for his technical exposition of the Roman calendar, provides a precedent in the Latin tradition. The *Κατατεριμῶν ... materies scripta elegis*, which Pliny the Younger *Epist.* V 17,1 heard Calpurnius Piso recite *in auditorio* might be contemporary with A. (part of a vogue?). In Greek, elegiacs of the imperial period are more often of informal production, unambitious in scope, and are found on papyrus often written (like 4503 and 4505) in informal scripts (cf. 4501–4502). For a didactic instance see Andromachus' *De theriaca ex viperis* quoted in its entirety by Galen (no. 62 in Heitsch, *GDRK* vol. 2 pp. 8–15), dedicated and addressed to Nero, with a closing invocation to Paion, complete in 87 elegiac distichs, which suggests a small compass (antecedents for elegiacs on medical prescriptions in Aglaïas, *SH* 18, and even earlier in Philo of Tarsus, *SH* 690, Eudemus *SH* 412A). For some unusual examples see LIV 3723 (ii AD) a versified list of mythological exempla on the *servitium amoris*, especially gods and their boy-loves. J. R. Rea has suggested that the basic subject was the love of the Emperor Hadrian for his favourite Antinoos, who drowned in the Nile and was a favoured subject with Greek-Egyptian poets (see most recently LXIII 4352; cf. however R. Führer, *ΣPE* 122 (1998) 47–8). The division between elegy and epigram is not always clear: see XXXI 2532 (iii AD) on people who get gout; *P.Lond.* 256 R = *PLit.Lond* 62 = Page, *Select Papyri* III no. 113 (= *SH* 982), an elegiac poem or epigram celebrating Octavian's victory at Actium in a Greek-Egyptian context (where its placement as an epigram on a monument at Actium is a patent literary fiction: see S. Barbantani, *Aevum Antiquum* 11 (1998) 5–104). Later examples are even rarer: some by Gregory of Nazianzus, and a fragmentary encomium, no. 31 in Heitsch, *GDRK*. 'Otherwise they fall out of favour for long poems' (West, *Greek Metre*, p. 181).

These instances show the range of productions that could command an elegiac form on Greek papyri from Egypt in the imperial period. A didactic poem on astrology expands the repertoire in an unexpected direction.



POETIC FORM AND DICTION: Anoubion writes in an artificial poetic language that is an amalgam of Homeric and later epic, with a preponderance of Ionic forms and many variants which exist only for convenience in observing strict versification. Poetic equivalents of names of the planets are those familiar from Dorotheus and the Manethoniana, e.g. Mercury = *Τίλβων*; Sol = *Ἡέλιος*, *Φαέθων*, sometimes *Δαίμων*; Mars = *Πυρόεις*; Venus = *Φωσφόρος*, *Κύπρις*, *Κυθήρεια*; Saturn = *Κρόνος* (*Φαίνων* at 4504 ii 15); Jupiter = *Κρονίδης* or *Κρονίων*; Moon = *Μήνη*, ἡ *Κερόεσσα* (use of Aries = *Κριός*; Virgo, Capricornus, Libra, Taurus, Pisces so far are not attested in the fragments of A.); ascendant sign = *ῶροσκόπος*, *ζώδιον*, *᾽Ωρονόμος* (the last in A. ap. Hephaestion 2.2 vv. 1–2, but with a different meaning in 4503 front fr. 2.3); horoscope, geniture, chart = *θέμα*. In addition there is a wide array of poetic epithets which typically accompany or sometimes substitute for a given sign, e.g. *ὀλοός*, ‘baneful’ of Mars (4504 ii 14). In the Manethoniana we find a wider repertoire of equivalent epithets for the signs; A. seems constrained and repetitious by comparison, precariously succinct, leaving much to the understanding of his reader. Firmicus’ prose version is painfully prolix by comparison. The author of the Manethoniana, writing in the same idiom, is closer to Anoubion, but has a wider range of poetic and technical vocabulary at his disposal, a more variable set of alternative expressions to say the same things. With his similarities to the language of Dorotheus, A. shows a unique combination of outright dependence on his predecessors, knavish thievery of their terms and expressions, in a cookbook-style compilation, to produce something new, involving insouciant variation in formulation of positions and predictions in a science in which one might suspect that even slight variation could have dire consequences for accuracy.

METRE AND VERSIFICATION: Elegiac couplet. Composition is stichic, with units beginning regularly with the hexameter, and ideas frequently confined to individual verses in the distichs. Technique belies suspicion that this is a writer entirely devoid of technical competence in versification. Of post-Callimachean strictures in quantitative verse, some are observed some of the time. Wherever we can tell, practice does not differ substantially between 4503–4507, nor between these taken together with P. Schubart 15 and the verses quoted from A. by later authors. Special treatment of the accent at the caesura or line-end is most prominent: viz. in the pentameter an attempt to fix the final accent and accent at the caesura. Such treatment stands at the beginning of the shift from quantitative to accentual verse: Maas, *Greek Metre* §§ 21–2; A. Dihle, *Hermes* 82 (1954) 182–9; West, *Greek Metre* pp. 159, 162, 181–2. Already Snell observed (ap. P. Schubart 15) that more often than not A. ends his pentameters with a paroxytone word. This is so in 24 out of the 38 certain cases (in 4503–5 and including—as in what follows—the six certain instances in P. Schubart 15, and 11 in fragments quoted from A. in the secondary tradition, but not counting uncertain and restored instances). When they do not end in paroxytones, they tend to be proparoxytones (7 out of 38); only 4 out of the 38 are in fact oxytones. Thus a more accurate way of describing A.’s metrical



preference would be to say that oxytone words are avoided at the end of the pentameter (cf. Maas, *Greek Metre* § 21; West, *Greek Metre* p. 159). Oxytones are similarly avoided at the caesura in the pentameter (Maas, *Greek Metre* § 22), though less so than at the end (12 out of the 42 certain instances at caesura are oxytone). A short syllable long by position before the caesura of the pentameter is generally avoided (Maas, *Greek Metre* § 22; Gow-Page, *GP* vol. 1, p. xli): only 5 instances out of 46; the percentages given by West, *Greek Metre* pp. 158 and 182 are instructive: A. is more strict than Asclepiades and Posidippus (14.4%), more in the range of Crinagoras (9.7%), Lucillius or Nicarchus (11.9%), less strict than Philodemus (1.1%). A monosyllable before the caesura is strictly avoided, as at the end (West, *Greek Metre* p. 158). Word end after the 'second trochee' of the pentameter is roughly avoided (only 6 out of 42 instances). The pentameter regularly has a caesura where expected.

In the hexameter A. likewise observes regular caesurae, with a slightly higher occurrence of the feminine. As in Callimachus, elision is avoided at the caesura (West, *Greek Metre* p. 153). Hilberg's law (no word-end after a monosyllabic i.e. uncontracted second biceps: Maas, *Greek Metre* § 92) is regularly observed. Naeke's law (no word-end after a contracted fourth biceps) is perhaps once violated (**4503** front fr. 2.11 if A. wrote the enclitic *τοι* and not the prepositive *τό*; **4504** ii 2 is mitigated by elision; **4504** ii 17 and P. Schubart 15.34 are not relevant since prepositives there are not in violation), though it is never so violated in Callimachus. There are two spondaic fifth feet (**4503** front fr. 2.5; back fr. 2.5). Hermann's bridge, as we would expect from any competent versifier in Greek, is always observed, except at **4503** back fr. 2.3 (but mitigated by elision). Hexameters with masculine caesurae usually do have as expected a secondary caesura after the seventh element or the eighth (Bucolic Diaeresis), but not at **4503** back fr. 2.9, **4504** ii 19. However, there is distinctly no Callimachean or Nonnian preference for a disyllabic i.e. uncontracted biceps in the third foot, when the secondary caesura falls before or after the biceps of the fourth foot (Maas, *Greek Metre* § 93), though there are examples at **4503** front fr. 2.11, **4504** ii 2, 12, A. ap. Hephaestion 2.2 (p. 90–1 Pingree) vv. 3, 9, 11. Giske's rule (no word-end after the fourth element or 'second trochee') is generally observed (Maas, *Greek Metre* §§ 94–5), at least in 37 out of 40 instances: there are exceptions at **4503** back fr. 2.11, **4504** ii 2, **4505** fr. 2.5 (but elision there). But word-end after the princeps of both the fourth and fifth feet, avoided by strict post-Callimachean versifiers, especially Nonnus (Maas, *Greek Metre* § 97) is oddly allowed at **4503** back fr. 2.11, **4504** ii 8, 12, 14, A. ap. Hephaestion 2.2 v. 11—all lines with masculine caesurae—though this never occurs in Nonnus. It is at least fair to say that A. exhibits a developing interest in post-Callimachean refinements, though he does not follow them consistently. Several instances of hiatus (**4503** front fr. 1.2, back fr. 2.5) are notable shortcomings in his aspirations as a Hellenistic versifier.

The Manethoniana are cited by the edition of Arminius Koehly, *Manethoniana* (Leipzig 1858), whose order of books (different from the ms.) is followed here only for convenience of reference. For advice on astrological and scientific matters we are grateful to Professor Alexander Jones.

**4503.** ANOUBION, ELEGIACS

57/6 (c)

7.3 × 0.8 cm (fr. 1)  
9.4 × 7.5 cm (fr. 2)Third century  
Plates XI–XII

A fragment written on both sides, containing at least 15 lines in elegiac distichs with foot of column (fr. 2); a detached piece (fr. 1) has along the fibres parts of three lines, followed by line beginnings of a second column. Thus we could have a miniature codex. Front fr. 1 could be a bifolium (page width 9.5 cm: Turner, *Typology* 22; cf. the slightly larger Homer Oracle **3831**, another handbook to the future at hexameter width). On the other hand, there is no sign of a fold, and in that case because of the relation of front to back in fr. 2 it must come from the upper portion of the page or column preceding front fr. 2 (the bottom is excluded because the line beginnings preserved by fr. 1 col. ii do not match front fr. 2.13–14). Also, the introductory content of front fr. 1 indicates close proximity to that of front fr. 2, suggesting that it came from the upper portion of the column containing front fr. 2. If so, we would have a (miniature) double column codex (Turner, *Typology* 36; see also on back fr. 2.3). The possibility of a small opisthograph roll is discouraged by the scribe's habit of shortening the extension of the hexameter lines at the right by squeezing in above the line parts of the last word or so but one (thus in effect justifying the right margin), due either to lack of space or in order to conserve it for another column of writing at the right, whereas an extended sheet would have allowed for the writing of full hexameter-length lines. However, it is not impossible that we have a single sheet, containing in several columns per side a much abridged version or excerpts of the poem (see on back fr. 2.3). Fr. 1 may be from a different column and codex leaf than fr. 2, though the content and the parallel sequence in the Latin version suggest it is part of the preceding discussion (see on front fr. 1 col. ii), and certainly that fr. 1 front precedes fr. 2 front.

The hand is a slovenly half-cursive, small and round (though hardly a book hand), rapidly written, with many ligatures and strong cursive tendencies, though still retaining independently formed capital shapes in most letters (e.g.  $\nu$ ,  $\omega$ ). In places its appearance is hasty and amateurish, increasing the chance that the text is corrupt. The scribe writes a v-shaped hypsilon (arcing out emphatically at line-end: back fr. 2.10), and  $\epsilon$  in a similar movement, usually with connecting stroke sloping into lower half, then changing direction and coming back up from base-line to create a lunate shape, sometimes coming all the way over the top, and even falling completely forward and dipping below the base-line when the following letter is  $\iota$ , in which case the shape is easily confused with  $\pi$ ; note same basic shape as  $\epsilon$  in hull of  $\epsilon$ , with centre-stroke connected in a zig-zag.  $\tau$  sometimes with a right-curving hook at bottom of upright, as sometimes also on tail of  $\rho$ , and on the foot of the right upright of  $\pi$  which, with its curved top, often confusingly approximates the shape of the sigma-iota ligature (e.g. front fr. 2.10).  $\mu$  with low rounded saddle and curved sides;  $\eta$  with curving right side;  $\kappa$  with both arms detached from the

upright, connected only with a curve at base-line.  $\beta$  with broad flat bottom and open at the top (back fr. 2.2, 12).  $\psi$  with 90-degree cross-bar (back fr. 2.6). Tiny, floating omicron, often not closed at top or right.  $\delta$  with sagging bottom.  $\omega$  independently formed and rounded. Diminutive zig-zag  $\zeta$ , but swashbuckling  $\xi$  (front fr. 2.2). Little decoration, no contrast between thick and thin strokes, but some hybrid-style contrast between thin or small letters ( $\iota$ ,  $o$ ) and wider ones ( $\nu$ ,  $\pi$ ).  $\iota$  and vertical of  $\phi$  frequently reach from bottom line of preceding line to the top-line of the line below. Initial letters slightly enlarged, and the whole leaning slightly to the right. The writing could be as early as ii AD (so E. G. Turner in an inventory note: 'looks early'), though this is discouraged by the swooping tail of alpha at the end of front fr. 2.10. A date in the later third century cannot be ruled out, and a few features could perhaps be comfortably placed even in early iv; but in general the impression given is of the earlier period.

The hand is to be compared with XXXI **2553** Calendar of Offerings, dated to late ii or early iii, and P. Ryl. III 463 (Roberts, *GLH* no. 20c) Gospel of Mary, middle of iii AD (assigned); cf. also Roberts, *GLH* 20b Edict of Prefect 206, and for an even earlier close parallel (especially for alpha and upsilon) see V **842** *Hellenica Oxyrhynchia* (Roberts, *GLH* n. 17b), second half of ii (assigned). For an early non-Christian literary text in codex form compare XLIV **3157** (Plato, *Resp.* X) ii AD (assigned).

Front and back can be easily inferred from content: the front, written along the fibres, concerns basic principles of astrology, to which introductory sections of book two of Firmicus Maternus' *Mathesis* correspond. This will have come early in the book; presumably from a proem. A reader (was he named?) is addressed as a would-be practitioner of the art; his presence in the proem might have been predicted from second-person verbs in the later fragments of the poem (see on front fr. 2.6). On the back and across the fibres there is more introductory material (or perhaps a transitional passage between sections or predictions) advising the addressee on divinatory procedure, then one complete prediction and the beginning of the next, which, like those of **4504** and **4505**, find parallels in exactly the same order in book six of Firmicus. Whether or not the front was the first page of the codex itself is unknown, since the height of the column is unrecoverable. Front fr. 1 gives the number of the zodiacal signs (presumably it went on to give their names); fr. 2 treats the astrological decans. Assuming that fr. 1 is part of the same column as fr. 2 (see above, and on fr. 1 col. ii), it is at least possible that the book began with this page and column—especially if Anoubion's proem was as lapidary and succinct (in comparison with Firmicus' Latin rendering) as we find in the other fragments, unless of course the codex contained the first two books of Anoubion's poem in addition to the third.

If back fr. 2.3–6 is not more introductory material but a transitional passage between predictions, the parallel sections preceding in Firmicus suggest that about 21 predictions should have intervened—which perhaps could have fitted into the



minimum lacuna of a second and third column (on the front and back of the page respectively). See on back fr. 2.3. On the other hand the fact that the first preserved prediction begins (back fr. 2.7) with *αὐτίκα γάρ* suggests a plan of organisation in which this prediction thus introduced began a new section, rather than separating predictions of the same or of a miscellaneous nature, as is the case in the parallel series in Firmicus.

Intercolumnium on fr. 2 is at least 1.1 cm; on front fr. 1 2.4 cm. The maximum width of the column (fr. 2) is 8.2 cm in full length hexameter lines (though the longer ones have been shortened; see below).

The scribe used few reading marks. A second hand may have placed a single grave accent in brown ink over alpha (if it is not simply a smudge) at back fr. 2.11. There are no breathings, no tremata or quantity marks. Spaces between words are sometimes employed (as indicated in the diplomatic transcript, below: e.g. back fr. 2.6 *διακρῖνων σκεψιν*; 11 *κορην αλ*). Otherwise the only punctuation is a single paragraphos after back fr. 2.2. While coinciding with a full stop, this however seems also to mark a new section in the poem.

Elision is consistently effected but not marked. Apostrophes are written after an elided *θε* (read *τε*) in front fr. 2.6 before *ἰδίοις*, after an elided *δε* in front fr. 2.8a, and after an elided *-τα* in front fr. 2.9. Hiatus is occasionally tolerated, written in scriptio plena, once at back fr. 2.5 (*τινα ἐκτελέσουσι*) and at front fr. 1.2 (*ζῳδιά ἐιν*), but elision effected at back fr. 2.3 *ζῳδι' ἐν*. At front fr. 2.2 and 12 there is hiatus at caesura in the pentameter. In the other cases such hiatus shortens a preceding long vowel by correption (fr. 2 front 5 bis *πολύμορφοι ἐπίστροφοι ἀντέλλοντες*; 8a *τό{c}κοι ἀστέρες*). Iota adscript is not written. The scribe effects assimilation of consonants where we would expect it (back fr. 2.5 *ἀγγείλειας*; 9 *κύμβιον*). There is only one itacistic spelling: back fr. 2.6 *διακρῖνων*.

Superscript and subscript sequences of letters appear, made internally at the time of writing in order to shorten the length of the line; there is an attempt to return to the normal level at line-end (e.g. front fr. 2.11). There are here and there uncorrected omissions of syllables necessary for the metre (front fr. 2.5; back fr. 2.3), which can sometimes be divined. The scribe wrote at least one adventitious but uncorrected double consonant (front fr. 2.8a *τόccοι*) which spoils the metre. In two cases pentameters have dropped (out of 30 distichs, i.e. ca. 7%, cf. **4504**, where one hexameter has dropped out of a dozen preserved distichs; in P. Schubart 15 one hexameter has dropped out of at least eight distichs).

Although the informal, cursive tendencies of the hand (together with uncorrected omissions and other infelicities) might be thought appropriate in a text of subliterate content, **4503** was clearly designed to be a book, and to reproduce literature. The scribe's consistent attempt to alter the shape of the column to fit his format of writing, namely by shortening the hexameter to the length of the pentameter, shows attention









→Fr. 2

- [ ca. 4 ]στοι πρότεροι ἔξ και[ ] [ ]  
 ὠρονόμοι, μέγα θαῦμα γένος φύσεως ἐς' αὐθρῆ'σαι,  
 ἄφραστοι· κείνοι δ' εἰςὶ πάρα χεδόθεν  
 5 παντοφ<όρ>οι πολύμορφοι ἐπίστροφοι ἀντέλλοντες.  
 ἄ[θ]ρήρη δ' ἑτέρους εἰν ὀρίοις θ' ἰδίους  
 7a τρεῖς ἐν [έ]νι ζώῳ οὐκ δὴ καλέουσι δεκανοὺς  
 7b < >  
 8a ἄλλοι δ' ἐμ φαύλοισι τόξ{c}οι ἀστέρες ὄντες ἔασι  
 8b < >  
 9 οἱ μὲν ἔπονθ' ἵνα πάντα τὰ θέσφατα 'πάντοτε' μείνῃ  
 10 λειτουρ[γ]οὶ σεμνοὶ τρεῖς περίεισιν ἕνα  
 ὠρονό[μον] κρατερόν· περὶ γὰρ τὸ {ι} ζώ'διον  
 οὗτοι ἐννέα λειτουργοὶ [ἀ]ντολίην ἔλαχον.  
 ἀλλ' οἱ δεσπόζ[ου]σιν ἐπαντέλλοντες ὁμοίως  
 [ ] τοῖς ὦν [ ] π[ ] αν ἀπειρέσιοι

(4.1) singula signa in tres partes dividuntur, singulae autem partes habent singulos decanos, ut sint in singulis signis terni decani, quorum singuli ex triginta partibus denas possident partes et dominium suum ac potestatem in X partes exerunt. sunt autem infinitae potestatis et infinitae licentiae et qui fata hominum suae potestatis auctoritate designent, etc. ... (4.4) quidam hunc uolentes subtilius explicare terna numina decanis singulis applicarunt, quos munifices appellandos (*A, Kroll et al.*: applicandos *PR, Monat*) id est liturgos (*seclusit Monat*) ita ut per signa singula nouem possint munifices inueniri, ut ternis munificibus decani singuli praeferantur. (4.5) rursus novem munifices, quos singulis signis dicunt esse constitutos, per infinitas diuidunt numinum potestates; ab his enim dicunt repentinos casus, dolores, aegritudines, frigus febresque decerni et quicquid illud est, quod solet nec sperantibus nec scientibus euenire; per hos uolunt monstruosos ab hominibus edi partus. (4.6) sed hanc nos partem in isto institutionis libro necessario praeferimus; nam et Graeci, qui secreta istius conati sunt disputationis attingere, in primis uestigiis constitutionis istum tractatum cum quodam dissimulationis fastidio reliquerunt.



↓(back) Fr. 1

1                    .                    .                    .  
                   ] . [  
                   ] . . . . . [  
                   .                    .                    .

↓(back) Fr. 2

(Firm. Mat. *Math.* 6.30.6)

                  .                    .                    .  
                   μ[ . ] . . . . . ς . . . . . ν . [ . . . . . ] . . . . . ρ .  
                   . . . . . ν α λ λ ω ν ω σ . σ κ ο π ε ς β ι ο υ . . . . . ν . . . . . [  
                   χ ρ ῆ γάρ τοι νο<ε>ειν τὰ ζώδι' ἐν οἷσι τέτευχα[ν]  
                   τούς τε παρόντας ὅπως οἴτινές εἰσι μαθών  
 5            ἦ τίνα ἐκτελέσουσι περιστάσιν ἀγγείλειας,  
                   ῥεῖα διακρέινων σκέψιν ἐτητυμῆς.  
                   αὐτίκα γὰρ Κυθήρεια μεσουραν'έουσα' Κρόνῳ σ'ύν'  
                   ε<ι>ν ἰδίοις τόποις τοῦ Πυρόεντος ἄτερ  
                   σύμβιον οὐ πενιχρὰν οὐ πρεσβυτέραν τε 'δίδω'σι,  
 10            κέντρον ὄσσην δύναμιν ἀντ' ὁπὸς ἔσχε τόπου,  
                   οὐ πάντως δὲ κόρην, ἀλλ' ἦ χήραν τε νέαν τε  
                   σύν τοι καὶ βιότῳ νῆ Δί' ἔδωκ' ἄλ[οχο]ν.  
                   εἰ δὲ τόπος κακοεργὸν ἐν[ . ] . . . ὄνα . . . ν' μεθοδεύει  
                   πάντως τοὺς ἀγαθοὺς ἀσσε[ . . . ] υἱὸν τόπος  
 15            ἦν ἐσθλὸς μεταγεινοί . [ . . . ] . καυεσι καὶ[ . ] . [

(30.6) si Saturnus et Uenus in signo uel in finibus Ueneris pariter constituti MC. possederint partem, et Mars ab his alienus fuerit effectus, aut pauperem ista coniunctio aut prouectae aetatis decernit uxorem. si uero sic Saturnum et Uenerem constitutos trigonica Iuppiter radiatione respiciat, uel si cum ipsis fuerit inuentus, ex isto Iouis testimonio uidua quidem uxor decernitur, sed diuitiarum affluentia copiosa.

(30.7) sin Uenus in MC. pariter cum Ioue fuerit inuenta, <ista> sociatio adulterio cognitam decernit uxorem. si uero his pariter constitutis Mercurii stella ad hoc idem consortium partis accesserit, et hoc marito relicto quem adulterio fuerat interveniente sortita, ad alterius mariti rursus nuptias transit, et hoc aut iuuenis amore capta perficiet, aut pauperis cuiusdam secuta concubitus, aut ignobilis concubitus humilitatem prona mentis cupiditate desiderans, ut omnifariam pravi amoris illecebris inferioris viri consortium sortiatur.

Front fr. 1

‘... are the twelve signs.’

Front fr. 2

‘... the hour-regulators—a great wonder it is to view their type of nature—are marvellous. Those are present at close quarters, they produce everything, take on many forms, influence one another, as they ascend. You should observe in their own and others’ boundaries three in a single sign which they call decans (one pentameter lost). But as many other stars as there are in inferior positions are (one pentameter lost). In order that all divine decrees always while tending abide, these three officers, who are august, are in control for one hour-regulator. For in this sign these nine officers assume their ascent. But they rule as they similarly ascend ... countless ...’

Back fr. 2

‘For indeed, one ought to consider the signs in which they occur; and see to it that you ascertain and report which sort are present or what circumstance they will bring to completion, easily providing a view of the truth.

To begin with, Venus when she is in mid-heaven together with Saturn in her own signs, without the presence of Mars, gives a wife who is not poor nor old—so much power does the rising-point of the place hold facing her (i.e. Venus?)—but certainly not a maiden either, but rather (Venus gives) a wife who is both a widow and young, I swear, indeed, together with a good deal of substance. But if the location (holds?) a sign of evil influence ... travels together entirely ... the good ones ... the location, if noble, great ...’

Front fr. 1, col. i

2 δυοκαίδεκα ζώδια: the twelve signs of the zodiac, minus the planets, introductory, elementary matter.

ζώδια ἐλκιν: ζώδια ἐλκιν might be predicative, with some other plural entity (e.g. οὔτοι, δεσπότηι) as subject.

But that the neuter plural takes a singular verb is only a rough expectation at best: neuter plural with plural verb is common enough (e.g. one out of four cases in Homer), the force being to lay stress in that case on the fact that the subject is composed of several parts rather than regarded as a collective. More alarming for the soundness of the text is the hiatus, which elsewhere in the fragments is not normally tolerated at this position (see introd. to 4503; for another violation, below back fr. 2.5). So perhaps <ἐν>ελκιν (= Firmicus’ *infixa*)?

Front fr. 1, col. ii

1–2 Apparently the line beginnings of another column rather than marginal annotation (cf. the verses written in another hand at the foot of the astrological verses in PSI III 157). Here the hand is the same. The alignment of the two lines and the intercolumn are consistent with the margins preserved on fr. 2. Back fr. 2 shows a trace of ink in the right margin at about the level of line 7, perhaps just accidental ink rather than a line-beginning of another column, since it intrudes further into the margin to the left than does any ink in either of the other preserved margins. Fr. 1 might be from the preceding leaf or column. But since only three chapters intervene between them in the corresponding section in Firmicus, whose Latin is in every other place we can judge more expansive than Anoubion’s Greek, there is some reason to think that fr. 1 is the upper portion of the same leaf as fr. 2.

Front fr. 2

2 πρότεροι: apparently in agreement with 3 ὥρονόμοι. Elsewhere the ὥρονόμος is the ascendant. But in what follows it seems to mean the astrological decans. There is therefore a clear gap between the elementary matter about the planets, their names and number, treated in fr. 1 (= Firmicus 2.1.1–2) and fr. 2; in the intervening gap Firmicus gives at 2.1.3 the signs, their genders and numbers of each (two groups of six). Then he moves on to the decans in 2.1.4.

3 ὥρονόμοι: by ὥρονόμοι A. seems to refer here to the astrological decans. In the parallel passage in Firmicus, where Anoubion says ὥρονόμοι, Firmicus translates as *Decanoi*. In the context, both are speaking of the uniform 10 degree decans of Greek astrology, not the time-reckoning constellations of older Egyptian astronomy. Yet the word ὥρονόμος, ‘hour-regulator’ to designate the decans looks like a recollection of their older function. The concept behind ὥρονόμος is something that regulates time. This is appropriate both for the ascendant (which moves through the zodiac, or rather the zodiac moves through it, in the daily revolution

of the heavens) and for a decan, recalling the old Egyptian use of the decans as time-reckoning constellations. Cf. line 7 where A. refers to sections of the zodiac such that each zodiacal sign contains three, i.e. decans. Here they are subjects of a programmatic discussion at the opening of Anoubion's poem. But it is hard to connect this discussion with the topics of the verses on the other side of the fragment. (See further below on 13.)

There is room for a letter between *ωρονομοι* and *μεγα*. Thus e.g. *ωρονόμοι[ε]* could be read. But the scribe sometimes leaves spaces between words, and the nominative seems to cohere with those that follow. A verb like *δύνανται* or *δυνατοί εἰσι* might be envisaged in the preceding lines to complete the construction.

*μέγα θαῦμα*: *Il.* 13.99 = 15.286 = 20.344 = 21.54, with inf. (*ιδέεσθαι*) 5.725 = 10.439 = 18.83, 377. See Sider on Philod. *Epigr.* 18.3. One would expect it to be parenthetical: so twice in Aratus; Manetho 5.32 *ἀρσενικοῖς ἔργοισιν ἀναγκάζουσι γυναῖκας / τέρπεσθαι, μέγα θαῦμα*: women under certain signs are driven to delight in masculine pursuits, a *μέγα θαῦμα*. Alternatively we could read *ωρονόμοι[ε]* with *ἔστι* understood: 'it is a marvellous thing for the hour-regulators to aspect the type of birth'; or 'it is a marvellous thing (for you? cf. second person address in 6) to look to the type of birth among the hour-regulators'. But we would be lacking a connective, and in any case the nominative *ωρονόμοι* in 3 is encouraged by the string of nominative epithets which follow in 4–5.

*φύσεω*: it is unclear whether the *φύσις* in question is (i) that of the *ωρονόμοι* themselves, together with their influences, or (ii) the personal character of the individuals thus influenced. (i) is suggested by the introductory nature of the passage; (ii) however, is supported by the fact that *ἐκαθρέω* normally describes (see below) the activity of astrological entities in fixing their locations and thus individual destinies.

*ἐκ'αθρή'ται*: *Il.* 3.450 etc. (*ἐκ-*, *εἰς-*) = *adspicio*, usually describing the position of a particular sign relative to another, but that does not seem to be the case here. At Manetho 4.557 the verb is employed to express the prediction itself: *δξύφοβοι λυπρὸν βίτου τέλος ἀθρήσουσιν*.

4–5 An encomium on the marvels (3 *μέγα θαῦμα*) of the hour-regulators: their qualities (3–5); although *ἄφραστοι* (4) they are to be observed by the would-be astrologer (6a), since they determine the truth of the predictions he reports (9). They are multiform and multivalent, influence one another (or are itinerant: see below), and rise into various configurations, presumably with predictable effects when 'within their own boundaries or those of others' (6a). Their positions are given (8a); they are subdivided into the subordinate but potentially influential *λειτουργοί* (7a, 10–12); through them all divine fates abide (9). Cf. the similar general description of the planets at Manetho 3.20–34. This is described in an asyndetic string of adjectives with *εἰσι* (4) (4505 fr. 2.7–10 may be compared for a parallel), in the character of an incantatory litany reminiscent of the magical papyri.

4 *κ...οι δεισι παρα*: Among possible readings, only *κεῖνοι* or perhaps *κλ<ε>νοί* (this itacism not elsewhere in the fragment) suit traces, sense, and metre. Thus articulate *-οι δ' εἰσι παρα* (the first and last apparently so articulated by the scribe himself), beginning a new unit of sense. (For the elision of *δέ* at the caesura in the pentameter see West, *Greek Metre* p. 158.) *παρα* probably postpositive with *εἰσι*. *παρασχεδόθεν* would be a hapax (though A.R. 2.10, 859 and Oppian *Hal.* 5.104, 4.442 have *παρασχεδόν*).

5 *παντοφ<ορ>οι*: (not in Manetho) seems a reasonable correction for the unmetrical *παντοφοι*. *παντό-<μορ>φοι* (=the Universe at ps.-Apul. *Asclepius* 19) would spoil the metre.

*πολύμορφοι*: Manetho 6.31 comes in a general description similar to the present one.

*ἐπίτροφοι*: poetic and rare, not a technical term of astrology: *Od.* 1.177 (and 8.163 as emended by Ar. Byz. from vulg. *ἐπίσκοπος*), Aesch. *Agam.* 397 in a lyric context, 'conversant with', 'having dealings with', either with one another, or with men's lives. Alternatively the sense may be 'curved', 'winding', 'wandering', as at A.R. 2.979; Dion. Per. 75, i.e. of the paths of the stars.

*ἀντέλλοντες*: frequently in Manetho in a technical sense of the motion of the stars and signs through the heavens (= *orientes*).

6 *ἀ[θ]ρή'ται*: *Il.* 10.11 etc.; *ἀθρή'ται* at line beginning: Manetho 3.45. But here (as in 3) it has a different meaning (though see Manetho 4.557 and *ἐκ'αθρή'ται* above in 3), with the addressee as apprentice or potential practitioner of astrology as subject. Also unusually here Anoubion begins a new sentence with the pentameter. But possibly the anomaly is due to the fact that the line comes in the proem which sets out the principles of the system, rather than in the more modular predictions which have been encapsulated into individual epigrams. For the second person address see further on back fr. 2.3, 5 and introd. to 4503–7.

*ἐτέρους εἰν ὁρίοις θ' ἰδίους*: lit. 'in their own and in different boundaries', where *ἐτέρους ὁρίοις*, if correctly read, is apparently a brachylogy for 'in the boundaries of different hour-regulators': i.e. they have different effects, depending on whether, at the birth of an individual, they are in their own boundaries or those of



other ὠρονόμοι (or signs?). Cf. back fr. 2.8 ε<ι>ν ιδίοις τόποις with note; Manetho 4.265 ἐν θ' ὀρίοις ιδίοις δυωδεκατημορίοις, 6.33 in a general description εἰν ιδίοις ὀρίοις ὑψώμασιν ἡδέ τ' ἐν οἴκοις. In ἐτέροις the τ is abnormally low in the line, with the horizontal approaching the level of the base-line and the upright descending below. After ὀρίοις presumably τ' should be read, the elision here marked by apostrophe, but it is not easy to see why θ should have been written (induced by reading back to ὀρίοις?); cf. on 4505 fr. 2.6. For the interchange of the aspirated for voiceless dental in documentary papyri, see Gignac, *Grammar* i 87 with examples (none given involving τε, nor of the phenomenon in elision, cf. p. 317). Deaspiration (the reverse phenomenon) is more common.

7a ἐν [ἐ]νὶ ζῳῳ: Firmicus' *in singulis*; cf. 4504 ii 10. Manetho commonly uses ζῳον of an individual sign, equivalent to ζῳδιον, often with the addition of an epithet to specify which one. So also in Anoubion at 4504 ii 13.

καλέουσι: sc. 'men'.

δεκανοῦς: according to Monat the Budé editor (vol. i p. 158 n. 20), in Firmicus decans refer not to the spaces of ten degrees (the Zodiac divided into 36 parts), but to one or another of the stars in signs which are not their primary place (τόπος). But Anoubion makes clear that we here have the 36 astrological decans, i.e. the uniform 10 degree decans, three for each of the 12 ζῳδια (front fr. 1.2). Further on the decans see Neugebauer and Parker, *Egyptian Astrological Texts* iii 105–74; Bouché-Leclercq, *L'astrologie grecque* p. 216 with n. 3; Gundel and Gundel, *Astrologoumena*, index s.v. 'Dekane'. The parallel passage in Firmicus 4.4 is expounded at greater length and detail at 4.22, where it is apologised that Petosiris and Nechepso treated the doctrine at an insufficient length (cf. 4.2 where it is certain *Graeci* who treated it too lightly), not because they did not know it, but because of its secrecy. The decans probably were an Egyptian contribution to the science: see above on 3; Schott in Gundel's *Dekane und Dekansterbilder* (Stud. Bibl. Warb. 19, 1934), 1–36; Fraser, *Ptolemaic Alexandria* i 434–9 with notes. The decans also appear with their Egyptian names on the ivory tablet from Grand: S. H. Abry & A. Buisson, *Les tablettes astrologiques de Grand (Vosges) et l'astrologie en Gaule romaine*, Collection du Centre d'Etudes romaines et Gallo-romaines NS 12 (Lyon 1993) (a reference I owe to W. Clarysse).

7b–8b There is no immediately discernible reason why the lines should have dropped, or why pentameters should have been lost here, rather than hexameters as at 4504 ii 15 and in P. Schubart 15.35. It is not impossible that an additional distich has dropped, judged from the Latin, though not necessarily so and probably not more than one in each case.

8a ἄλλοι δ(ε): Is the contrast between the influential ὠρονόμοι = decans and inferior bodies, or between one type of ὠρονόμοι like the decans and another, the λειτουργοί?

ἐμ φαύλοισι: presumably the bad places of exaltation mentioned by Firmicus at 2.4.5; cf. Manetho 2.362 χρῆμα πέλει φαύλοισι τε καὶ ἐσθλοῖς ἀστράσι πᾶσιν.

τόξ{c}οι: τόξοι, though palaeographically possible, will not scan. The scribe may have been led astray by the series of round shapes, producing one too many. The round letter after τ has an ink-filled centre: possibly the scribe has blotted it out in cancellation. The first c could then be read as o (though it seems not to have been closed at right), in which case we should print τ[o]ξοι. Yet the correction is not an obvious one (cf. back fr. 2.10).

9 'qui (sc. decani) fata hominum suae potestatis auctoritate designent'. So Firmicus, where the Greek, however, seems to mean: 'These ... are in control in order that all divine decrees always while tending abide ...'.

οἱ μὲν: i.e. one type of ὠρονόμοι (construe with 10 λειτουργοί?). The contrast in μὲν is apparently with 13 ἀλλ(ά), cf. 8a ἄλλοι δ(ε). But the exact division remains uncertain, owing to the loss of 7b and 8b, and the obscurity of 13–14.

ἐπονθ' ἴνα. After θ a large, ungainly apostrophe with blobs at top and bottom written above it (the one in 8, executed more neatly but still large, may be compared). It is difficult to decide between ἐπονθ' and ἐπονθ'. We could also have ἐρονθ', but it is hard to see the force of the future, and this would give two main verbs with no connective.

θέσφατα: 'divine ordinances or decrees', in Homer sometimes completed by an infinitive. For the absolute use see *Il.* 5.64 οὐ τι θεῶν ἐκ θέσφατα ἦδη. Echoes in Manetho: 1.207, 3.685 (quoted below on back fr. 2.6).

πάντοτε: once in Philemon, but otherwise Hellenistic; often in Manetho, emphatically at 1.1 πάντοτε μὲν κόσμοιο κατ' αἰθέρα κοιρανέοντες.

10 'terna numina decanis singulis applicarunt, quos munifices appellandos id est liturgos'; but the Greek seems to mean: 'these three officers, who are august, are in control for one hour-regulator'.

λειτουργ[γ]οί: Monat, the Budé editor, attempts to excise *id est liturgos* as an intrusive gloss of a Greek



word for a Latin one (see her explanation, vol. 1 p. 158 n. 21), but this is now seen to be misguided. Firmicus' information is here revealed to be derived from Anoubion or a common source. Firmicus footnotes his debt to this Greek source in the next section (2.4.6) *nam et Graeci, qui secreta istius conati sunt disputationis attingere* (cf. 4.22 on the decans). Manetho says nothing about *λειτουργοί*. As a subdivision of the decans, they have but subtle influence over one's fate: it is surprising to find in such an early source so recherché a doctrine. Firmicus was formerly our only source for the subdivision of the decans into three parts, although another definition of *λειτουργοί* as sevenths of zodiacal signs (rather than ninths as here), shows up in Martianus Capella: see Bouché-Leclercq p. 216 n. 3, 225 n. 1; A.-J. Festugière, *La Révélation* vol. 1 p. 132; the *λειτουργοί* are omitted from Gundel and Gundel, *Astrologoumena*.

11 *'quos munifices appellandos id est liturgos ita ut per signa singula nouem possint munifices inueniri'*; the Greek gives: *'for indeed in this sign these nine officers assume their ascent'*.

*τὸ ζώδιον*: the scribe clearly wrote *τοί*, but *ζώδιον* rings odd without an article or demonstrative, and *τοί* would violate Naeke's Law (no word break after a contracted fourth biceps; cf. Page, *FGE* 45). Since *τό* is prepositive, it would not break the rule and so is more likely to have been written by A., in keeping with his metrical preferences elsewhere.

*ώρονό[μον]*: perhaps easier (with 10 *ἔνα*) than the partitive *ώρονό[μων]*.

12 [*ἀντολήν*]: = *ἀνατολή*, *ortus*: see Manetho 1.113, 405; 2.181; 3.32; 4.8, 84; 6.48. Cf. 5 *ἀντέλλοντες*.

*ἐλαχον*: 'get by lot', i.e. according to *τὰ θέσφατα* mentioned in 9.

13 *ἀλλ'οἱ*: apparently preferable to *ἄλλοι*; we could also have *ἀλλ'οἷ*. Is the reference to the decans or the *λειτουργοί*, or rather to another class (cf. 8a *ἄλλοι*), the planets or constellations who are said to 'rule' over an individual's birth? Cf. A. ap. Hephaestion 2.2. (p. 90 Pingree) vv. 1–2 (see below on 15).

*ώρονόμον δὲ μάθοις ὥρης ἄτερ ἄστρασιν ἄλλοις*

*σκεπτόμενος Μῆνην καὶ μέγαν Ἡέλιον.*

In this passage *ώρονόμος* is used not to refer to a decan, but as a synonym for *ώροσκόπος*, the rising point of the zodiac, a different usage (see above on 3; for a parallel: Neugebauer & van Hoesen, *Greek Horoscopes* no. 95 line 59). An astrological writer, and a fortiori an astrological poet, might allow himself the licence of using the same word for two distinct astrological concepts.

14 *ἀπειρέσιος* corresponds in the Latin to *per infinitas dividunt numinum potestates*, here presumably of the astrological entities and their powers over men. Thus [*θνητοῖς*] could be restored at line beginning. *ἀπειρέσιος* is Homeric and epic: *Il.* 20.58, *Od.* 11.621 (boundless), *Od.* 9.118, 19.174 (countless); also used twice by Manetho to different ends: 1.262 (of *πλοῦτον*) and 214 *δωρεῖται κῶδος καὶ ἀπειρέσιον κράτος ἀνδρῶν*; cf. *ἀπειρέσιος* (1.87).

15 ff. It is implied by 13 *δεσπόζ[ου]σιν* and made clear by back fr. 2.3–6 that A. went on here to treat theoretical matters concerning the *δεσπόζοντες*, 'ruling signs' before giving the catalogue of predictions based on them in 4503 back fr. 2.7 ff. Therefore the six elegiac distichs quoted from Anoubion by Hephaestion 2.2 (p. 90–1 Pingree), which deal with the *δεσπόζοντες* (v. 4), might be placed here in the poem, giving as an appendix practical advice on how to find the ascendant if the client doesn't know what time he was born. These will then have been followed by 4504, before 4503 back.

Back fr. 2

3 The paragraphos after 2 might indicate beginning of a new section. Lines 3–6 seem to contain introductory hortatory material preliminary to what follows, as though part of a proem or transitional passage. Except for the proem in 4503 (front), these elements are lacking elsewhere in the fragments, and are also missing from the Latin here. But it is uncertain what immediately preceded, whether the Greek version of the series of predictions at Firmicus 6.28.1–30.6 (like 4504, which corresponds within this section), or more introductory material continuing the front. If we are dealing with a double column codex (on the assumption that front fr. 1 col. i is part of the same col. as front fr. 2: see introd.), then missing between front fr. 2 and its back are the 15 + lines of front fr. 1 col. ii plus another 15 + lines of the corresponding (now lost) column on its back. If the columns were of roughly 30 lines, this would give 75 lines for the 28 predictions in Firmicus, which fall after the clear section and thematic beginning in Firmicus at 5.28.1–2, where he promises to tell Mavortius more detailed examples of the kind of predictions he has been outlining generally and in theory based on conjunctions and oppositions in the preceding section. (It is true that Firmicus' introduction at 6.28.1–2 does not correspond to Anoubion's proem in 4503 front fr. 2; but Firmicus at 2.1–4 has already adapted that proem, or one closely related to it, so he cannot have reused it here.) If, however, the columns

were much shorter, or if this is an outer column of a double column codex or from single column one, there will not have been sufficient space in **4503** for the version of Anoubion used by Firmicus and attested in Greek by **4504** and **4505**. In that case we will have to posit in **4503** a different, possibly abridged, version of the one followed by Firmicus, in which the text on the back continued on from that on the front with the loss of brief introductory matter or a selection of horoscopes. The paragraphos here in that case might mark off select individual horoscopic epigrams, making **4503** look more like an anthology of epigrams, like **4505** (where see introd.), III **464** and PSI III 157. All these have paragraphoi. But these will not alone be decisive, for **4504** does so as well; yet it corresponds sufficiently closely with Firmicus for 24 lines so as to rule out the suspicion that all these papyri are random and differing selections of horoscopes in elegiacs.

χρή: The style much in keeping with Anoubion ap. Hephaestion 2.2. (p. 90 Pingree) vv. 9–10:

χρή δὲ Σεληναίης προτέρης ἀνελέσθαι ἀριθμόν  
ὥρην νυκτερινὴν σκεπτόμενον θέματος.

γάρ τοι: Denniston, *GP* p. 549–50, apparently here a Homeric use, e.g. *Il.* 5.265.

νο<ε>ειν: Something needs to be supplied to make up the metre: (i) supply <ε> before νοεῖν: compare the second person in 5, as well as front fr. 2.6; (ii) supply <γε>, a universal stopgap, here in combination with τοῖ; (iii) most economically, correct νοεῖν to νο<ε>ειν. Manetho has only the contracted forms. (iii) has the advantage of avoiding the awkward change from εε with the infinitive to a second person construction with a finite verb in 5.

οἷσι τέτευχα[ν]: after ζώδι' ἐν, the next letter just a smudge, followed by a faint upright, οἰ or ωι, then the left side of a tiny bowl: αἰ, though a tight squeeze, could be read, the iota close in and ligatured to the top of sigma, with vertical ink rising above. If we ignore it, we could have ετετευχαν (the next letter is an upright with a horizontal extending to the right at top, τ or γ) but οἷσι τέτευχα[ seems preferable. -χα[ν] would be the alternative plural ending, as though from the aorist (since -κα[αἰ] would be hypermetrical), whether from τεύχω or τυγχάνω, is unclear, though the difference in meaning could be minimal: 'For indeed one ought to consider the signs in which they occur'. 'They' must be the planets, as shown by the following specifics, especially the 'ascendants' or δεσπόται. They are influential not only at the time of one's birth, but also at the time of marriage (**4504** ii 2 δεσπ[ό]ζον[τα γ]άμου), and so determine in the predictions which follow the success or (more often) failure in love, marriage, and family. In **4505** Περὶ τοῦ δεσπότου appears in the colophon as the title of the poem (or one book of it). On the other hand the decans (= ὠρονόμοι) discussed on the front make no appearance here and seem to play no role.

4 μαθών: cf. Anoubion ap. Hephaestion 2.2. (p. 90 Pingree) vv. 1–2: ὠρονόμον δὲ μάθοις ... / σκεπτόμενος Μήνην καὶ μέγαν Ἥλιον. For an echo in Manetho see below on 6.

5 τίνα ἐκτελέουσι produces an awkward hiatus; see on front fr. 1.2, but no doubt original: ἐκτελέω is commonly Homeric: *Od.* 3.99 = 4.329, etc.

ἀγγείλειαι: For the second person see introd. to **4503–4507**. Is the activity of 'reporting' a convention of the didactic poetry, or a point of practical advice to an apprentice for dealing with clients, or again a (priestly) office of the astrologer? Compare the inscription, discussed by Jones, *Apeiron* 27 (1994) 25–51, on the statue of the early Ptolemaic astrologer Harkhebi (iii BC) who was 'hereditary prince and count, wise in the sacred writings, who observes every thing observable in heaven and earth, who announces the risings and settings at their times, with the gods who tell the future' (Neugebauer and Parker, *Egyptian Astronomical Texts* iii 214–16).

6 ρεῖα διακρίνων: epic in form (as in θεοὶ ρεῖα ζῶντες, *Il.* 6.138, *Od.* 4.805, 5.122). In fact nearly the entire line is Homeric, with the exception of σκέψιν, the intrusion of which (along with 4 μαθών) produces a bizarre combination of epic diction with the terminology of later science. (With σκέψιν compare σκεπτόμενος in Anoubion ap. Hephaestion 2.2 (p. 90 Pingree) vv. 2, 10 quoted above on 3, 4). Neither ρεῖα/ρέα nor σκέψις nor ἐτητυμία are employed by Manetho, but he seems to echo διακρίνων, μαθών (4), and the present line at 3.685 λέξω/πῶς κε διακρίνειεν ἀνὴρ τάδε θέσφατα εἰδώς (for θέσφατα see above, front fr. 2.9).

ἐτητυμίας: also at line-end below in **4506** fr. 2.3; cf. Dorotheus fr. V 16 (p. 392 Pingree) v. 17 παίδων τέκμαρ ἔχουσιν ἐτήτυμον. With ἀγγείλειαι in 5 cf. *Il.* 5.438 τις ἐτήτυμος ἄγγελος; cf. **4504** ii 7 ἀτρεκέως. Homer does not have the noun, for which see Callim. *Aet.* fr. 75.76; Orph. fr. 280.7 Kern.

7 αὐτίκα γάρ: 'to begin with' 'for example' (LSJ sv. II) at Ar. *Plut.* 130; cf. *Av.* 166, 574, Plat. *Protag.* 395c, *Resp.* 340d; when Homer has αὐτίκα it is without γάρ: *Il.* 1.118, *Od.* 1.324, etc. Here the expression seems to suggest that this is the planned beginning of a section commencing with predictions, rather than



the selection of a prediction out of a series (such as the one in which this one appears in Firmicus) or out of a potentially large number of available predictions.

7 The letter after *Κυθέρει* is clearly  $\epsilon$  (for the shape, cf. line 12  $\delta\epsilon'$   $\epsilon$ ), with its horizontal crossbar, in comparison to the down-swooping tail of  $\alpha$ ; thus a phonetic mistake? For the sigma of *κυν*, see 12  $\kappa\upsilon\nu$   $\tau\omicron\iota$ . This preposition, however, never appears post-positive in Manetho or Dorotheus. Contrary to the scribe's usual procedure for squeezing in words, here the final word, or rather the last two letters of it, seem to be raised, the line reaching the maximum length for the space, measured against the longest lines (cf. 11). At the far right edge, a trace of ink level with this line, probably just accidental ink.

8  $\epsilon\langle\iota\rangle\nu$   $\iota\delta\acute{\omicron}\iota\omicron\iota\varsigma$   $\tau\acute{\omicron}\rho\omicron\iota\varsigma$ : cf. front fr. 2.6  $\epsilon\iota\nu$   $\delta\rho\acute{\omicron}\iota\omicron\varsigma$   $\theta'$   $\iota\delta\acute{\omicron}\iota\omicron\iota\varsigma$ . The first omicron in  $\tau\acute{\omicron}\rho\omicron\iota\varsigma$  rather ineptly executed; but it is not, we think,  $\tau\acute{\upsilon}\rho\omicron\iota\varsigma$ . By  $\iota\delta\acute{\omicron}\iota\omicron\iota\varsigma$  A. means in 'its (Venus) own' = *in signo vel in finibus Ueneris*. Firmicus plausibly interprets  $\tau\acute{\omicron}\rho\omicron\iota\varsigma$  as referring to either the zodiacal signs ruled by Venus (i.e. Taurus and Libra) or the terms within any sign ruled by Venus.

$\acute{\alpha}\tau\epsilon\rho$ : with gen. commonly Homeric: *Il.* 1.498; compare Anoubion ap. Hephaestion 2.2 (p. 90 Pingree) v. 1  $\acute{\omega}\rho\eta\varsigma$   $\acute{\alpha}\tau\epsilon\rho$ ; Manetho 5.41, 246  $\text{Ζηνὸς ἄτερ}$ .

9–12 Firmicus 6.30.6 says exactly the opposite of Anoubion in 9. At least one of the astrologers has seriously erred. The discrepancy could be remedied by emending  $\omicron\upsilon$  in both cases in the papyrus to  $\eta$  (a phonetic slip? cf. 7 *Κυθέρει*); Manetho 3.506  $\alpha\upsilon\lambda\omega\nu$   $\eta$   $\kappa\iota\theta\acute{\alpha}\rho\eta\varsigma$   $\eta$   $\acute{\alpha}\omicron\iota\delta\eta\varsigma$ . However 4504 ii 3 (where see note), in comparison with Firmicus 6.30.23 shows that the predictions could undergo some transformation in the tradition. Perhaps Firmicus corrects his predecessors, or perhaps he or an intermediary was the source of the mistake, rather than the scribe of 4503.

On the other hand, there are infelicities in A.'s version:  $\tau\epsilon$  only with the second  $\omicron\upsilon/\eta$  suggests lack of coordination, whereas the Latin neatly provides *aut ... aut*. The parallel prediction which follows in the Latin shows no correlative particle(s), where the Greek has  $\tau\epsilon ... \tau\epsilon$  (11). It is unusual to have a prediction expressed, as here, entirely in the negative: reading  $\omicron\upsilon ... \omicron\upsilon$   $\tau\epsilon$  we are not told what kind of wife the configuration brings, only that she will not be poor or old.

Further complications enter at line 10, which lacks a connective particle, and is something of an after-thought, an asyndetic additional specification to the original configuration. Only after this additional specification in 10 do we find out what the wife positively will be like, and even the first half of 11 is expressed negatively. Though somewhat redundant, 9  $\epsilon\upsilon\mu\beta\iota\omicron\nu$  ...  $\iota\delta\acute{\omicron}\omega\varsigma$  is in chiasmic arrangement with 12  $\xi\delta\omega\kappa'$   $\acute{\alpha}\lambda[\omicron\chi\omicron]\nu$  (the subject of both singular verbs being *Κυθέρεια* in 7). The postponement of the noun  $\acute{\alpha}\lambda\omicron\chi\omicron\nu$  (if correctly restored) until the end of 12, suggests that the entire series of adjectives in 9–12 is to be taken in reference to the same prediction/wife. Note, however, that in Firmicus (who ignores the qualification in 10), what was a single prediction in Anoubion has become two separate predictions, each with its own positive prediction for a different type of wife. In the second, Firmicus is explicit that the widow herself will be wealthy, whereas this is left to be inferred in the Greek, according to which wealth will be an additional blessing for one born under this configuration. (Firmicus similarly takes the prediction to be for a genethliacal horoscope, i.e. pertaining to the time of birth; this is nowhere specifically stated in the Greek.)

9 At the end,  $\iota\delta\acute{\omicron}\omega$  added suprascript at the time of writing (rather than by correction or omission) in order to limit the extension of the line into the right margin (similarly 13 below, and front fr. 2.3, 9, 11).

10  $\zeta\epsilon\eta\nu$ : Suggested by Dr Coles. As read,  $\omicron$  is a mere dot; if omicron, its entire centre is closed, like the one in the second  $\omicron\upsilon$  in 9 but even smaller.  $\zeta$  seems to be swallowed up by a folded fibre: its top is a diagonal resting on vertical ink, sloping down from top at right, its left hand bowl and lower arc withering, a damaged  $\tau$  not ruled out; but  $\epsilon\tau\eta\nu$  is senseless, likewise  $\delta\epsilon$   $\tau\eta\nu$  and  $\delta\epsilon$   $\tau\eta\nu$ . In  $\xi\zeta\chi\epsilon$  the aorist is gnomic.

$\acute{\alpha}\nu\tau'$   $\delta\epsilon\pi\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$ : such an articulation might be seen behind Firmicus' *trigonica radiatione respiciat* (cf. Manetho 4.336  $\acute{\alpha}\nu\tau\acute{\omega}\pi\iota\alpha$ ;  $\acute{\alpha}\nu\tau\omega\pi\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$  would be unmetrical). But if so, Firmicus has supplied the planet (Jupiter) in such a position, missing in the Greek. We might have expected an epithet for Jupiter, but none in  $-\pi\omicron\varsigma$  or  $-\zeta\iota\omicron\varsigma$  suggest themselves, and even this would not have specified the configuration given by Firmicus. Reading  $\acute{\alpha}\nu$  (for  $\acute{\epsilon}\acute{\alpha}\nu$ )  $\tau\acute{\omicron}\rho\omicron\iota\varsigma$  seems convoluted and redundant with  $\tau\acute{\omicron}\rho\omicron\iota\upsilon$  standing at line-end. The first letter could instead be an omicron cancelled with a diagonal stroke. After  $\nu$ , there is a horizontal ink at the level of the top-line, connecting to a rounded top following. The letter before  $\omicron\varsigma$  is either  $\pi$  or the scribe's easily confused  $\epsilon\iota$  ligature (cf. front fr. 2.4  $\epsilon\iota\epsilon\iota$  for the shape). Could  $\text{Νόξιος}$  be considered?

11  $\omicron\upsilon$   $\pi\acute{\alpha}\nu\tau\omega\varsigma$   $\delta\epsilon$   $\kappa\acute{\omicron}\rho\eta\nu$ : 'but certainly not a maiden either', i.e. a mixed blessing, first qualifying, then giving the positive complement, to the negative formulation in 10: 'but rather one both widowed and young, I swear, with indeed a good deal of substance too, as a wife'.

ἀλλ' ἦ: There is some reason to expect ἀλλά and the last letter is compatible with α. But a long syllable will be required. ἦ is more guesswork than read (this combination not paralleled in Manetho). But the only other alternative, namely ἀλλ' οὔ (perhaps *spatio longius*) would again make Anoubion say exactly the opposite of the Latin.

χήραν: Unless it is accidental (or merely dirt), there seems to be a sloping diagonal line, in brown ink over the alpha, by a second hand. A grave accent, i.e. χηράν? If so, it is the only one in the text, but perhaps not placed in error: a 'warning accent', that is, warning against placement of an acute on the syllable so accented (here the ultima), apparently deemed especially advisable in a class of words which, like this adjective, are normally oxytone. See J. Moore-Blunt, 'Problems of Accentuation in Greek Papyri', *QUCC* 29 (1978) 137–63 at 146, whose examples are all ii or iii AD; C. M. Mazzucchi, 'Sul sistema di accentazione dei testi greci in età romana e bizantina', *Aegyptus* 59 (1979) 145–67 with further literature.

νέα: Though no virgin, a young widow would have experience and money (cf. 12), and still have years left on her, perhaps regarded, like Petronius' Widow of Ephesus (*Satyricon* 111–12), as sexually insatiate as well. We seem to get a reflection of the real world via the world of novelistic storytelling. That a widow might be past childbearing is a concern expressed at Dorotheus 2.4.15 (p. 46, 202 Pingree).

12 At line-end we are told what these planets/positions give in addition to basic βίωτος. Manetho frequently forecasts both βίωτος and βιωτή, a positive i.e. desirable prediction. Here the additional element need not have been positive (judged from Manetho's formulations); we could have had e.g. *ὡς ... βιώτω ... ἔδωκε κακόν*.

νῆ Δι(α) confirms III 464.14 νῆ Δία, and P. Schubart 15.40 μὰ θεού, both doubted by Weinstock, *Cd'E* 27 (1952) 214 ('hardly possible in this kind of poetry'). But as he notes correctly there, the asseveration is omitted in the Latin, as here. Such asseverations are probably a feature of the didactic poet as inspired imparter of divine knowledge. They are distinctly a feature of the style of A.'s *Lehrgedicht*, as distinct from the prose handbooks or Dorotheus and Manetho who never use them. The occurrence of the expression in 4503 lends support to the Anoubian provenance of III 464 as well as that of P. Schubart 15.

ἀλ[οχο]ν: after α, unlikely that the following letter was ν (thus not ἔδωκαν) or κ (thus not κ[ακό]ν).

13 Note that μεθοδεύει is written slightly below the line of writing, suggesting that the suprascript addition that precedes is calculated in advance to shorten the extension of the line to the right, thus in effect to justify or preserve the right margin. Cf. above line 9 end, front fr. 2.3, 9, 11. This in itself does not tell that another column followed, since we cannot be certain that sufficient papyrus followed, and it might well suggest that it did not (see introd.).

14 αςεε[: ἄςεο[τέρ] cf. (Manetho 3.390 ἄςεοτέρω μαλεροῖο) is ruled out by the shape of the trace before the break, which arcs up high, then tucks in like the tongue of ε. As ἄςεε– yields nothing, ἀπεε[ (the π ligatured into ε?) should be tried. After the break, ε]ῖθ'?

D. OBBINK

#### 4504. ANOUBION, ELEGIACS

66 6B.4/P(1–2)(a)

17.4 × 14.3 cm

Third or fourth century  
Plate XIII

A fair portion of one column of writing from a book-roll, with upper margin and vestiges of the preceding and following column, the latter marked half way down in the margin by an asteriskos, containing elegiac couplets with astrological predictions similar in style and content to those in 4503 and 4505–4507, and P. Schubart 15. These are paralleled in language and order by Firmicus 6.29–31, which points to Anoubion as author.

Of col. i only a few line-ends survive. The first half of col. ii is seriously perforated, but restoration secured in most places by the parallel Latin text. Of col. iii we have only the few letters beginning some ten lines, and a marginal asteriskos. The text is



written along the fibres. The back is blank. The hand is a small, slightly flattened, rounded formal mixed (akin to but not precisely severe) style hand, lightly decorated, markedly bilinear, slowly written, to be compared with *P. Chester Beatty*, early iv AD, no. 2b in Cavallo-Maehler *GBEP* (London 1987) and *P. Berol.* 9766, iii AD, no. 33 in Seider, *Paläographie* II.2, but approaching the small formal Biblical maiusculæ (cf. B.M. Pap. 743 (A. R.) of iv or v AD (assigned), no. 29 in Turner, *GMAW*<sup>2</sup>) in being more rounded and e.g. by the addition of finials on verticals. When verticals and obliques meet at an apex they combine imperfectly in a flat top to produce the impression of a serif (horizontal or sometimes slightly tilting down at left), e.g. on tops of α, δ, μ, and ν (also serifs on tops of vertical and upper arm of κ, left vertical of η, left-end of top stroke of τ). The hand is upright, with a slight inclination to the right, reflecting influence or later development of the severe style with hybrid characteristics. Shading is contrastive, but the effect minimised by the small size of the letters. Narrow tall letters (ι, ρ with its tiny bowl) contrast with wide ones (η, μ), and both with small narrow letters (ο, ω), while φ and υ are both wide and tall. μ is written in three strokes, with a low flat curving belly, sloping low into the right upright, so as to resemble the shape of ν. Alpha is angular; both ο and ω small, tight, and floating between top and bottom lines (ς, ε, θ somewhat larger, but still diminutive in proportion to the other letters). Diamond-shaped φ (10, 12); ζ and ξ (16) written extremely wide. Strict bilinearity violated by ι, ρ, φ, but most ostentatiously by υ, which also occupies additional width by virtue of hooks off the tops of both arms, especially the left. ζ, κ, μ, υ, and ξ are written contrastively wider than other letters.

Elision is effected and in at least one case (ii 14) marked by apostrophe, though in at least two other cases (ii 6, 9) it is not so marked. There is orthographic division of double consonants (τ'τ) by apostrophe at ii 4. Iota adscript is not as a rule written, though it is written at 12 (τούτωι), 13 (Κρονικῶι), and 23 (δυτικῶι); cf. 11 (ζωιδ[ι]ω, where the iota in ζωι can be understood vocally as ζωιδ[ι]ω as first written, though it is not so marked and with the suprascript correction metre will require taking ζωι as monosyllabic). Consonants are not assimilated internally (9 *ὑνπαρ[έ]η*). There are itacistic spellings: 14 *Πυρόϊς*, though in 9 the scribe wrote *Πυρόεις*; 19 *γείνοντα*. There are at least two notable metrical deficiencies: a defective pentameter (18) with a missing syllable, but otherwise sound and potentially remediable; after 15 one hexameter (at least) has dropped, the content of which can be supplied from the Latin.

Top margin is wide (6.4 cm) and intercolumn is ample (min. 2.9 cm). The evenly cut edge along the right half of the top is presumably the original top edge of the roll. This was a nicely produced book-roll, with corrections and reading marks, a format of production that would hardly suggest a private copy or subliterate content. There is no punctuation, but the text exhibits interlinear corrections and variants by the same hand which offer in both cases better readings than the text as first written. There are no obvious spaces between words. There is no punctuation (or accents, or other reading marks), but the same hand has provided paragraphoi which precisely articulate sections of the text, divisions which are reflected in the text of the Latin descendant. The same

hand or pen produced the asteriskos in the intercolumn before col. 3. All this suggests a professionally produced and edited book containing a controlled and stabilised text of a known author.

Other than the author and handwriting, there are no indications of date. Parallels from handwriting suggest the later third century, but the first half of the fourth cannot be ruled out, of which the later form of hypsilon is in particular a harbinger. The original height of the column is unknown. If the book preserved in **4504** ended at the same point as Anoubion's third book preserved in **4505** (fr. 2.11: *I*), and both texts were roughly the same, then c. 20 predictions must be fitted in between the end of col. ii and the end of the book, based on the corresponding remaining predictions in Firmicus 6.30.3–26, at which point there is an obvious section break before 6.31.1. Allowing a minimum of 3 lines on average per prediction (and allowing for elaboration in the Latin proportionate to the passages where we have the Greek as a control), c. 60 lines will be missing after col. ii before the end of the book, of which we have c. 20 in col. iii (either preserved as beginnings or indicated by space), 15 in **4503** back and at least another 16 in **4505** before end of book (apparently no overlaps with col. iii), leaving at least 9 to be apportioned between cols. ii and iii or to have followed in a further column now lost.

Consequently there is no certain way of estimating the length of the roll. On this reckoning and counting backwards, twenty-two predictions preceding col. ii would bring us to a point at which there is a major section break with exhortation at Firmicus 6.28.1, discussed above as a possible book-beginning and location for the introductory matter in **4503** (see on back fr. 2.3). Allowing again at least 3 lines on the average per prediction, we might be within c. 65 lines of the beginning of the catalogue of predictions, after a proem of, say 25 lines, i.e. c. 80–90 lines from the beginning of the book. This would give a total of c. 180 lines for book 3, which would occupy six columns if the columns contained 30 lines each (a common enough format, but no particular reason to prefer it). Even these calculations can only be in the largest sense approximate, and of course the roll may have been much longer, containing for example books one and two of Anoubion as well as book 3, or some other more eclectic disposition of the elegiac horoscopes into a kind of anthology.

Metre: elegiac distichs; the hexameter not in ekthesis. As in the Berlin fragment (noted by Snell ap. P. Schubart 15), most of the pentameters where we can tell end in paroxytones (see 16 and possibly 3 for proparoxytones as permissible exceptions).

→

Col. i

1	]	ω
2	]	
3	]	τρρον


. . . . .

## Col. ii

- . . . . [.] ζθε [.] υπολλακι και πατερος  
 δ . σπ[.] ζον[. . .] . μου πυροεντην κειμενον<sup>οις</sup> ευρων  
 οισ προειπατο π[.] . . . τουτ βιηπα . εται  
 ητ' τονος ηδουλ[.] . πο . ειρονος η επενιχρου  
 5 ηνδεκ . πριςθι . . οισ π . νν[.] . ιςιν . λεσει  
 ηνδ . ης τιλβων . . . [.] . . . του . ετοποιο  
 κειμε . [.] . . . ως[. . .] φη[. . . . .] . . . [.] ιατ' ρ' εκεως  
 αλλα κρισε[. . . .] αγειμεγα[.] ασφωνα στεδικαστε  
 χειρον δη νερμεις υν παρ[.] η πυροεις  
 10 . . κρ[. . .] . . ειη . . ιφως φ . ροσειν ενι ζωω  
 τωδ . . . [.] . . τυχη ζωιδ[.] . . οκρονος  
 και πρω[.] . . ουτω ις υνα φην τευχη κυθε ρεια  
 και κρονικω ιζ[.] ω ζευς τυχη η τε κυπρις  
 και πυροις ο λοος κυπρις μνηνηντ' εσαθρησ η  
 15a και μουν[.] ζφαινων τ ην κεροεσσανιδ η  
 15b < >  
 16 ηο γε μητρυι η μειξετ αιαινοτατος  
 ηνδε γυν η κατα του το τυχητος χημα γενεσθαι  
 . . . . ροσανδρ . λεξετ αι η πατερος  
 γεινονται ις τειραι τε και ις περ μοι παλιν ανδρες  
 20 μοιραν οταν μνηνητ ηνδε τυχη κατεχειν  
 ενθεν ις ημερι ην μεγας ηλιος ηλθεν ο δευων  
 ειδ[.] . . . [.] . . χα . . φ . [. . . . .] ρωι υποχθον[. . .] .  
 ηδυτικω ις τειχω ις κρονος κυθε ρεια τα ποικο  
 [. . .] . . . ερου[. . .] ευς η προ[. . .] . . . ερον κυ[.] ερη[

## Col. iii

- 1 ην[  
 ζυ[  
 [  
 [

5 [   
 [   
 ε[   
 — η. [   
 10    
 — δευ[   
 [   
 [   
 15 [   
 [   
 [   
 [   
 20 κα. [   
 καιφ[

## Col. ii

1 . . . . [ , at beginning a vertical with connecting cross-bar at top,  $\pi$  possible, then vaguely a triangular letter, most likely  $\alpha$ , but  $\delta$ ,  $\lambda$  possible, before an upright with something connecting at left, possibly  $\pi$  2  $\delta$  , letter after initial  $\delta$  is only flecks ]  $\mu\omicron\nu$ , before  $\mu\omicron\nu$ , two obliques meeting at an apex:  $\alpha$ ,  $\lambda$  possible, but  $\delta$  excluded 3  $\tau\omicron\pi$  , trace after  $\pi$  of upper left quadrant of round letter:  $\epsilon$ ,  $\varrho$   $\tau\omicron\nu\tau$  , after  $\tau\omicron\nu\tau$  only a trace at mid-height in the right side of letter space, which is narrow, e.g.  $\omicron$ , but too narrow for  $\omega$  Possible low trace before  $\epsilon\tau\alpha\iota$  4  $\delta\omicron\nu\lambda$ , after delta, top of small round letter, arms of  $\nu$ , legs and part of apex of  $\lambda$  5  $\theta\iota$  , after  $\theta\iota$  lower left corner of  $\alpha$  at baseline ]  $\iota\epsilon\omega$ , before  $\iota\epsilon\omega$  lower arm of  $\chi$  or  $\kappa$  coming in at lower left; after  $\iota\epsilon\omega$  long horizontal,  $\pi$  or  $\tau$  followed by high ink at top in middle of the letter space, possibly from a round letter  $\zeta\epsilon\iota$ , before  $\epsilon\iota$  possibly  $c$  with bottom half filled with ink or dirt, but  $\theta$  not excluded 6  $\delta$  , round letter follows  $\delta$ , i.e.  $\epsilon$  or  $\omega$  after  $\beta\omega\nu$  complete disruption of fibres, traces mere specks no longer in original orientation . . .  $\tau\omicron\nu$ , before  $\tau\omicron\nu$  three uprights; after  $\tau\omicron\nu$ , apex of  $\alpha$ ,  $\lambda$ ,  $\delta$  7 after  $\kappa\epsilon\iota\mu\epsilon$  an upright, close in to epsilon; then space for two letters before a stumpy upright connected at bottom to trace at left and tiny arc out and upwards at right,  $\omega$  suggested, then a small, tight round letter,  $c$  closest,  $\omicron$  not excluded after  $\phi\eta$  the fibre structure has disintegrated, with only an indistinct trace here and there; there is possibly a side of the triangular-shaped  $\phi$ , lying on its side, out of place before  $\alpha\tau\rho\epsilon\kappa\acute{\epsilon}\omega\varsigma$ , an upright with an oblique connecting at top, possibly the serif on top of  $\iota$  8  $\kappa\rho\iota\zeta\epsilon$  [ , after  $\kappa\rho$  an upright, then horizontal ink at baseline, compatible with  $c$ , not extending as far as would the bottom of  $\delta$ ; after that fibres disintegrate and there are odd traces of perhaps two letters out of place, nothing in particular suggested 9  $\rho\omicron\nu\delta\eta\nu$ , after  $\rho\omicron\nu\delta$  an upright compatible with  $\pi$  or  $\eta$ ; the following  $\nu$  and the rest of the line are out of alignment with what precedes 10  $\kappa\rho$  [ , at beginning of line, feet of uprights of two letters; then top of serifed upright with foot and lower leg of  $\kappa$  splayed below, followed by tall oblique stroke compatible with  $\rho$  but missing the bowl  $\epsilon\iota\eta$  . , after  $\epsilon\iota\eta$ , tip of an upright; next letter shows the end of a leg arcing out at lower right:  $\lambda$ ,  $\alpha$ . Trace before  $\rho$  is just a speck on a dangling fibre;  $\rho$  is a long oblique minus its bowl 11  $\tau\omega\delta$  . . [ , beginning shows a faint  $\tau$ , small  $\omega$  hovering between the lines, and  $\delta$ ; then an oblique slanting



down from top left to bottom right, as though an arm of  $\chi$  or  $\alpha$ ; then traces of two feet ] . .  $\tau$ , before  $\tau\upsilon\chi\eta$ , foot of an upright, followed by two distinct uprights, the last incompatible with  $\alpha$ ?  $\tau\upsilon\chi\eta$ , before  $\chi\eta$  a centred upright topped by horizontal extending at right, arguably  $\tau$ , then a wide space with a descender dipping at bottom, with just a hint of the left branch of  $\nu$  . .  $\nu$ , directly above the two letters before  $\kappa\rho$ , between the lines there is  $\nu$ , and before that the left side of a letter with hook back left at bottom, and which looks more vertical than rounded, but damaged at top: so both  $o$  and  $\omega$  possible? 12  $\pi\rho\omega$  . . . , after  $\pi\rho\omega$  an upright at centre,  $\tau$ ,  $\iota$ ; after the gap an upright as in right side of  $\nu$ , but  $\iota$  not excluded; the letter before  $ou$  almost entirely swallowed up in the gap  $ou\tau$ , after  $ou$ , foot of centred descender, with tip of right cross-bar,  $\tau$  suggested  $\kappa\upsilon\theta\epsilon$ , at end before  $\rho\epsilon\iota\alpha$ , the papyrus is out of alignment, giving the impression of two letter spaces between  $\kappa\upsilon\theta$  and  $\rho\epsilon\iota\alpha$ : the first trace shows the lower left quadrant of a round letter,  $o$  or  $\epsilon$  suggested,  $\eta$  ruled out; the next trace is the upper left corner of  $\rho$  15a ]  $\epsilon\phi\alpha\iota$ , before  $\phi\alpha\iota$ , trace of lower left arc of e.g.  $\epsilon$ ,  $o$ ,  $\epsilon$  18 . . .  $\rho$ , at beginning, slanting side of letter, e.g.  $\gamma$ ,  $\eta$ ,  $\mu$ : then feet of two uprights,  $\eta$  or  $\pi$ ?; followed by pointed descender, centred, as from  $\tau$ ; then bottom of bowl,  $o$  or  $\epsilon$ ; then deep pointed descender, with tight bowl off to right at top,  $\rho$  most likely  $\alpha\nu\delta\rho$ , after  $\alpha\nu\delta$  a deep pointed descender, as from  $\rho$ , followed by a trace of ink at line level, e.g.  $\iota$  or bottom of bowl of  $o$  or  $\epsilon$ ; there is not room for, nor any trace of another letter between  $\rho$  and  $\lambda\epsilon\xi$  19  $\gamma\epsilon\iota\nu\omicron\nu\tau\alpha\iota\epsilon\tau$ , after  $\gamma\epsilon\iota\nu\omicron\nu$  a fibre is out of place at an odd angle, but on it ink at centre as in cross-bar of  $\tau$ , followed by a speck at base-line, then a serified top of  $\iota$ , after which curved top of  $\epsilon$  or  $\varsigma$ ; afterward a vertical with a slight curve left at bottom and part of horizontal originally on top,  $\pi$  or  $\tau$  22  $\epsilon\iota\delta$  . . ]  $\delta\omicron$  . . , after  $\epsilon\iota\delta$  . . horizontal at baseline,  $\delta$  almost inescapable, followed by tiny bowl as of  $o$ , then a high hook, perhaps  $\epsilon$  or upper part of upright and upper arm of  $\kappa$   $\theta\omicron\nu$  . . . , mid-section of upright (or right side of  $o$ ) framed by two very short parallel horizontals, perhaps top and bottom of  $\epsilon$

→

Col. i

1 [ ]  $\omega$   
 2 [ ]  
 3 [ ]  $\tau\rho\omicron\nu$

Col. ii

... [.]  $\varsigma$   $\theta\epsilon\iota$ [ $o$ ]  $\nu$   $\pi\omicron\lambda\lambda\acute{\alpha}\kappa\iota$   $\kappa\alpha\iota$   $\pi\alpha\tau\acute{\epsilon}\rho\omicron\varsigma$ .  
 $\delta\epsilon\varsigma\pi$ [ $\acute{o}$ ]  $\zeta\omicron\nu$ [ $\tau\alpha$   $\gamma$ ]  $\acute{\alpha}\mu\omicron\nu$   $\Pi\upsilon\rho\acute{o}\epsilon\nu\tau'$   $\eta\eta$   $\kappa\epsilon\acute{\iota}\mu\epsilon\nu\omicron\nu$   $\epsilon\upsilon\rho\acute{\omega}\nu$ <sup>οις</sup>  
 $\omicron\acute{\iota}\varsigma$   $\pi\rho\acute{o}\epsilon\epsilon\iota\pi\alpha$   $\tau\acute{o}\pi\omicron$ [ $\iota\varsigma$ ]  $\tau\omicron\upsilon\tau\omicron$   $\beta\acute{\iota}\eta$   $\pi\alpha$   $\epsilon\tau\alpha\iota$   
 $\eta\tau\tau\omicron\nu\omicron\varsigma$   $\eta$   $\delta\omicron\upsilon\lambda$ [ $\omicron\nu$ ]  $\upsilon\pi\omicron$   $\chi\epsilon\acute{\iota}\rho\omicron\nu\omicron\varsigma$   $\eta\epsilon$   $\pi\epsilon\nu\iota\chi\rho\omicron\upsilon$ ,  
 5  $\eta\eta$   $\delta\epsilon$   $\text{Κύπρις}$   $\theta\iota\acute{\alpha}\varsigma\omicron\iota\varsigma$   $\pi\acute{\alpha}\nu\eta$ [ $\nu$ ]  $\chi\acute{\iota}\varsigma\iota\nu$   $\tau'$   $\delta\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\varsigma\epsilon\iota$ .  
 $\eta\eta$   $\delta'$   $\epsilon\acute{\iota}\eta$   $\text{Cτίλβων}$  . . . [.]  $\epsilon\pi\acute{\iota}$   $\tau\omicron\upsilon\delta\epsilon$   $\tau\acute{o}\pi\omicron\iota\omicron$   
 $\kappa\epsilon\acute{\iota}\mu\epsilon\nu$ [ $\omicron\varsigma$ ]  $\acute{\omega}\varsigma$ [ $\pi\epsilon\rho$   $\epsilon$ ]  $\phi\eta$ [ $\nu$  . . . .] . . [.]  $\iota$   $\acute{\alpha}\tau'$   $\rho'$   $\epsilon\kappa\acute{\epsilon}\omega\varsigma$ .  
 $\acute{\alpha}\lambda\lambda\acute{\alpha}$   $\kappa\rho\acute{\iota}\varsigma\epsilon$ [ $\iota\varsigma$   $\epsilon\pi$ ]  $\acute{\alpha}\gamma\epsilon\iota$   $\mu\epsilon\gamma\acute{\alpha}$  [ $\lambda$ ]  $\alpha\varsigma$   $\phi\omega\nu\acute{\alpha}\varsigma$   $\tau\epsilon$   $\delta\acute{\iota}\kappa\alpha\varsigma$   $\tau\epsilon$ ,  
 $\chi\epsilon\acute{\iota}\rho\omicron\nu$   $\delta'$   $\eta\eta$   $\text{Ερμεί}$   $\varsigma\upsilon\nu\pi\alpha\rho$ [ $\acute{\epsilon}$ ]  $\eta$   $\Pi\upsilon\rho\acute{o}\epsilon\iota\varsigma$ .

(Firm. Mat. Math.  
6.29.23-30.3)

nam si Saturnus nuptialis signi dominus fuerit inuentus, aut a patre aut <a> patruo aut a uitrice stuprum uirgini praeparatur, aut a sene aut a seruo. si uero nuptialis signi dominus Mars fuerit effectus, et sic et ipse fuerit sicut diximus positus, cum quadam uiolentia flos uirginitatis eripitur. (24) si uero Uenus nuptialis signi domina fuerit effecta, et sit etiam ipsa sic ut diximus posita, in nocturnis sacrorum uigiliis spontaneum stupri crimen admittitur. si uero Mercurius nuptialis signi dominus fuerit < > ante collocatus, promissionum captae persuasionibus uirginitatem suam desiderio corruptoris addicunt. sed ex occasione et crimina concitantur, et tumultus seditiosae uocis infertur. At fiunt maiora periculorum discrimina, si cum Mercurio Mars fuerit inuentus.

- 10 ἦν Κρ[ονί]ων εἴη καὶ Φωσφόρος εἰν ἐνὶ ζώω  
 τῷ δ . . . [ . . . ] . . . τύχη ζωιδ[ί]ω ὁ Κρόνος  
 καὶ πρῶτ[ω]ι τοῦτωι συναφὴν τεύχη Κυθήρεια  
 καὶ Κρονικῶι ζ[ώ]ω Ζεὺς τύχη ἥ τε Κύπρις  
 καὶ Πυρόις ὁλοὸς Κύπρις Μήνην τ' ἐσαθρήσῃ  
 15a καὶ μὲν[ο]ς Φαίνων τὴν Κερόεσσαν ἴδῃ,  
 15b < ἥ τότε μητρί >  
 16 ἥ ὅ γε μητρὶν ἡ μείζεται αἰνότατος.  
 ἦν δὲ γυνὴ κατὰ τοῦτο τύχη τὸ σχῆμα γενέσθαι,  
 μητέρος ἀνδρὸς < ἐς > λέξεται ἡ πατέρος.  
 γείνονται στειραὶ τε καὶ ἄσπερμοι πάλιν ἄνδρες  
 20 μοῖραν ὅταν Μήνη τήνδε τύχη κατέχειν·  
 ἔγθεν ἱεμερίην μέγας Ἥλιος ἦλθεν ὁδεύων  
 εἰ δ[.]δ[.]χ[.]φ[.] . . . [ . . . ] ρ[.] ὑποχθόν[ιο]ς  
 ἡ δυτικῶι στειχῶσι Κρόνος Κυθήρεια τ' ἄποικοι  
 [ . . . ] . . . ερου[.] . . . ευσσηπρο[.] . . . ερον Κυ[θ]έρη[

XXX.(1) si in Saturni signo Iuppiter et Uenus simul positi easdem possederint partes, et Saturnus in uicino sit signo, id est in secundo fuerit inuentus, ut ipse primus coniunctionem Ueneris uenientis <ex>cipiat, et Mars Lunam respiciens quacumque Ueneri radiatione iungatur, Saturnus etiam Lunam pariter aspiat, et Sol sit in MC., Luna et horoscopo in Cancro constitutis, incesto furoris ardore et potestatis alicuius praesidio subleuati matrum suarum conubia sortiuntur, aut nouercas suas praepostero mentis ardore; cupiditate possessi ad consortium tori genialis inuitant. si uero mulieris fuerit ista genitura, matrimonii gratia haec eadem mulier aut patri iungetur aut uitrico. talem Oedipodem habuisse genitram antiquae ferunt memoriae lectionum. fuit enim horoscopus in Cancro, Sol in Ariete, Saturnus in Piscibus, Iuppiter et Uenus in Aquario, Mars in Libra, Luna in nebula Cancrī, Mercurius cum Sole.

(2) si in finibus Mercurii Luna fuerit inuenta, et masculini generis sidus acceperit, praesertim si in Aquario fuerit inuenta, nec Uenus Ioui trigonica radiatione iungatur, qui sic has stellas habuerint, numquam filios sortiuntur.

(3) si in aequinoctialibus <signis> Luna in horoscopo fuerit inuenta, id est in Ariete uel Libra, Iuppiter uero et Mars partili societate coniuncti in MC., uel in occasu fuerit collocati, Uenus uero et Saturnus in Capricorno uel Aquario pariter constituti et eundem partium numerum possidentes Martem et Iouem qualibet radiatione respiciant, facient steriles effeminatos et abscissos gallos, religionum caerimoniis seruientes.

## Col. ii

‘... at the hands of her uncle and her father. If you find Mars the ruler of the marriage sign positioned where I said before, this (is obtained?) by force at the hands of a low-life or a vile slave or a pauper. But if Venus (viz. is the ruler of the marriage sign) she will lose it (sc. *flos virginittatis*) during Bacchic routs and night celebrations. If Mercury is positioned in that place, (it happens?) as I said, unfailingly. But he (i.e. Mercury? or it, i.e. this configuration?) incites trials and great tumult and lawsuits. It is worse if Mars is found together with Mercury.’

‘If Jupiter is present (i.e. in the marriage sign?), and Venus is too, in the same sign, and Saturn is (coming?) very close to this sign (sc. Venus), and Venus effects a conjunction with him (sc. Saturn) first; and (if, when the husband is born?) Jupiter is in the sign of Saturn, and Venus is too, and deadly Mars is in aspect to both Venus and the Moon, and Saturn off by himself is in aspect to the Moon <one line missing, ending: ‘either with his own mother’> or with his step-mother he will have intercourse most horribly. But if it is a woman who is born with this birth-chart, she will (be called the wife of? go to bed with?) either her step-father or father. Women are born who are barren, and again men who are without issue, if the Moon embraces the following configuration: whence the great Sun comes (or: came?) travelling the equinox ... under the earth, or should Saturn and Venus go forth as settlers (i.e. dwell together) in a setting sign (or: in *NN* as it is setting) ...’

## Col. i

3 ]τρων: Most likely [κέν]τρων, rather than [μέ]τρων or the like: Manetho (who does not have *ἀντρον*) 3.469 μέτρα μακρῆς χθονὸς ἐξεδάησαν; 4.626 ἐκμέτροις αἰῶσι; 5.361 εἰς ἑτέραν βίβλον τῷδε μέτρῳ πρὸς ἔπος; 6.266 ῥυθμοῖς καὶ μέτρων ποιήμασιν εὐστοχον ἄνδρα; in the context [ἄς]τρων is not to be ruled out: Manetho 1.123 Θυτήριον ἄστρον (emended by Koehly to ἄκρον); the word once at line-end in Manetho 6.7 ὑπ’ οὐρανίων χοροῦ ἄστρον. This line will have been a hexameter in any case on account of its length; so also 1 above, leaving 2 (nothing visible) a pentameter.

## Col. ii

1–9 deal with defloration of virgins according to the marriage (not birth) sign: this is specifically stated by Firmicus at 6.29.23 *si Saturnus nuptialis signi dominus fuerit inuentus*. The Greek correspondingly gives δεσπ[ό]ζον[τα γ]άμου here (ii 2). That the *nuptiale signum* is the concern of section 24 (~line 5) as well is also stated by Firmicus. But in the next section he has apparently reverted to focusing on the genethliacal sign: 6.30.1 *si uero mulieris fuerit ista genitura* (~ii 17 ἤν δὲ γυνή κατὰ τοῦτο τύχηι τὸ σχῆμα γενέσθαι), as he did in the predictions that precede 6.30.23. The genethliacal predictions leave off exactly where **4504** begins. Thus lines 10–20 begin a new section (represented by a chapter division at Firmicus 6.30 and accompanied by a paragraphos in the papyrus). Here we get a more general prediction illustrating the ill-effects of Venus under the sign of birth, especially its effects for the marriage. This theme (and its corresponding section in Firmicus) is continued in **4503** (back) and **4505**. In addition to the parallel text in Firmicus (6.29.17–23 (end) and 6.30.1–26, the whole of chap. 30), see also the treatments of this subject by Manetho 6.165 ff. and Ptol., *Tetr.* 4.5.

1 At beginning, we need –οο– before θεῖ[ο]ν. Shape before θ approximates c. We are missing a reference to the step-father (= *a vitrico* in Firmicus): the letter at beginning of line suggests π. But the space seems insufficient for πατρειοῦ, and a connective will be needed before θεῖ[ο]ν.

θεῖ[ο]ν: the ι is a mere vestige; but ν shows its characteristic splayed arms: ο will be floating between the lines just before, but generously spaced, like the omicron-hypsilon in 17 τοῦτο.

What the paragraphos after line 1 signals is unclear. It cannot mark beginning of the section giving predictions from the marriage sign, since line 1 gives the apodosis of what in the Latin is the first of a brief series of predictions given by the ruling sign at marriage rather than, as elsewhere, at birth. Elsewhere in **4504** (after 9, 18) the paragraphos does not mark mere punctuation, but rather significant section beginnings.

2 δεσπ[ό]ζον[τα γ]άμου: as with 10 (which similarly begins after a paragraphos), this line as reconstructed is left oddly without a connective particle (cf. 5, 6). But there seems to be no way to accommodate one; the zeta seems all but certain, and in any case δεσπότην, e.g., will not scan.

At the end, varia lectio εὔροις for εὐρών (οις written sscr.), apparently the preferable reading (but –ων not cancelled; therefore a variant?). With the aorist participle εὐρών we must presume (and understand) a preceding second-person verb, κέπτοιο *vel. sim.*: e.g. ‘but if it is Mars (whom you observe), finding him in a



position ruling the marriage sign ...'. εὔροις also coheres well with the other second person addresses in the new fragments of Anoubion: see **4503** front fr. 2.6, back fr. 2.3, 5, **4505** fr. 2.5, and cf. Anoubion ap. Hephaestion 2.2. (p. 90 Pingree) v. 1 μάθοις. The second person addresses presume or affect a practical context for a potential practitioner.

ἦν: = ἐάν as often in Dorotheus and Manetho, more commonly with the subjunctive than with the optative (a late feature: Radermacher *NTGrammatik* p. 200), as here, but with the optative it is frequent enough in the Greek astrological poets (twenty times in Manetho).

2–3 κείμενον εὔροις οἷς προέειπα τόπο[ις]: The location previously stated was presumably 'on the descendant or the MC' (as given by Firmicus at the beginning of 6.23). This longer form of the anterior reference (see also 6–7) is eschewed by Manetho. Thus προείπον (3) and πρόφημι (7n.) do not occur in Manetho's poem, but are nonetheless found in the prose-handbooks: Hephaestion p. 83.8 Pingree ὡς προείπον. The form προέειπα is in any case suitably Homeric: cf. Emped. 31 B 17, 15 D.-K. ὡς γὰρ καὶ πρὶν εἶπα.

3 τοῦτο: i.e. her virginity? or loss of it, corruption, or perhaps seduction ('stuprum' in Firmicus)? I have no idea what Greek word is implied as antecedent, nor if it was actually expressed in what came before line 1.

βίη: Manetho 5.249 ἐξαπύνης ἀπόλεσε βίη; cf. 3.178, 193. Note that whereas Firmicus (6.29.23) agrees that Mars foretells rape (as opposed to seduction, *stuprum*), he does not specify by whom. Instead, he seems to have moved Anoubion's δοῦλος (together with a *senex*, not in the Greek) into the preceding prediction for who will seduce the girl if Saturn is the ruler of the marriage sign. Is this a case of carelessness in the Latin translation, or a refinement of the prediction by later astrologers? Note that Firmicus' text could be brought into general agreement with the Greek by ending the sentence at *praeparatur*, thus beginning a new sentence with *aut a sene aut a seruo*, and deleting *uero* after *si* in what immediately follows, so that *si nuptialis signi dominus Mars fuerit* follows on without a break.

At line-end there are few possibilities to accommodate πα. εται; the syllable in question must be short. We might have expected the future (judged from 5, 16, 18 and P. Schubart 15.36; but here 8, 9 give predictions in the present, as do **4503** back fr. 2.9, 12 and P. Schubart 15.33). πάσεται < πάομαι ('get', 'acquire', with the woman as subject, τοῦτο as direct object generalized to mean e.g. marriage, mentioned in 2 [γ]άμου) is ruled out if the first syllable is long (so LSJ), but that depends on two emended passages (A. *Eum.* 177; Call. *H.* 6.127). If it were short at least for later authors, Lucian *Podagra* 264 would be a close parallel, but there too the reading is an emendation (from various forms of παθ-). Other possibilities require internal correction, which is rare (West, *Greek Metre* p. 11 f.): παύεται (if τοῦτο generalizes), 'her virginity is brought to an end' (Eurip. *Med.* 717 παύσω ε' ὄντ' ἄπαιδα might be relevant), or παίεται might be considered, the latter used e.g. of sexual intercourse at Ar. *Pax* 874. But this word is rather exclusively poetic, and the passive rare, being largely supplied from πλήρω. In any case the space seems too wide for ι.

4 ἥττονος: apparently of a (social) inferior (rather than someone younger in age): Manetho 4.385 ἥσσονες ἐκ πατέρων μητρὸς θαλέθουσι λοχεύαις; 4.163 λέκτρα γυναικῶν ἥσσονα πολλῶ.

ἦ δοῦλ[ου] = *aut a seruo* (in the preceding prediction) in Firmicus (6.29.23). But *aut a sene* there has no equivalent here.

πενιχροῦ: **4503** back fr. 2.9; Hephaestion p. 101.4 Pingree; Paulus Alex. 58, 18; 122, 16; Manetho 1.416, 428.

5 'But if Venus (*viz.* is the ruler of the marriage sign)'. The fact that the verb of the protasis is here understood, makes this prediction a species of the foregoing one, and accounts for the fact that a new prediction here begins with the pentameter.

ἦν δὲ Κύπρις: Note that while Firmicus agrees about the planet and position, he predicts seduction, *stuprum*, rather than rape (βίη = *uiolentia flos* ... *eripitur*, as predicted for Mars in 3), whereas Anoubion's ὀλέσει would seem to allow a range of possibilities.

θαύροις: cf. Manetho 4.301, 493; Manil. 5.144 ff. Fear of women's mysteries was widespread and stereotypically dramatic: Cumont, *L'Égypte* 95 with n. 1. Since Anoubion (Firmicus' source here) dates from at least the second century, the critical view of the mysteries adopted here provides no grounds (as is sometimes alleged) for connecting the Firmicus Maternus of the *Mathesis* with the one who wrote *De errore profanarum religionum*, in part a Christian attack on the pagan mysteries.

πανν[υ]χίειν: cf. Manetho 1.205 παννυχίδων τελετῶν θ' ἡγήτορας; Athen. 668C; Plut. *Mor.* 77E.

ὀλέσει as at *Od.* 13.299, Hes. *Op.* 180, Manetho 1.345; epic also admitted the form with two sigmas. Here the top of sigma taken so far forward that it has closed the circle, filling the bottom with ink, and giving the impression that we have -θει.



6 Missing in the middle of the line after  $\tau\acute{\alpha}\lambda\beta\omega\nu$  is a long syllable (or two shorts), then a long syllable before  $\epsilon\pi\iota$ , with the caesura intervening: i.e. something like  $\alpha\rho\chi[\omega\nu]$ ; but the traces (on broken fibres) are too exiguous to confirm.

7  $\kappa\epsilon\iota\mu\epsilon\nu[\omicron\varsigma]$ : sc.  $\tau\acute{\alpha}\lambda\beta\omega\nu$  in 6, where  $\epsilon\zeta\eta$  will require the nominative here. In the Latin something has gone missing between *fuert* and *ante collocatus* (a lacuna indicated here by Kroll and several mss.), probably *sicut diximus*, as in the previous sentence (6.29.23). Thus we need something like  $\acute{\omega}\varsigma[\pi\epsilon\rho\ \xi]\phi\eta[\nu]$  (suggested by Professor Parsons) or  $\acute{\omega}\varsigma[\pi\rho\acute{\omicron}\epsilon]\phi\eta[\nu]$  (cf. Doroth. fr. V 27.13 p. 402 Pingree  $\acute{\omega}\varsigma\ \pi\rho\acute{\omicron}\epsilon\phi\eta\nu$ ). But space recommends only three (narrow) letters in the lacuna before  $\phi\eta$ . W. Clarysse ingeniously suggests  $\acute{\omega}\varsigma[\nu\acute{\upsilon}\mu]\phi\eta$ , as the expressed subject of a passive verb of seduction or persuasion later in the line, corresponding to Firmicus' *uirginitatem suam desiderio addicunt*. This does not account for what has dropped from the Latin, but then we cannot be certain that everything in the Latin was originally in A.

After  $\phi\eta$  there is a loose piece with the left side of the (distinctively triangular) bowl of phi lying at an angle. I do not know its original position, but if it belongs here (and this is uncertain), then a verb beginning with phi is demanded. Before  $\acute{\alpha}\tau\prime\rho\acute{\epsilon}\kappa\acute{\epsilon}\omega\varsigma$  there is a trace of an upright with something from the left connecting at top (too oblique for  $\pi$  or  $\tau\iota$ ), probably a serified iota (like the one in  $\kappa\alpha\iota$  in 15a). But sense uncertain: (i) we need something like: 'she is seduced by someone's promises' (or by someone speaking  $\acute{\alpha}\tau\rho\epsilon\kappa\acute{\epsilon}\omega\varsigma$ ? or not  $\acute{\alpha}\tau\rho\epsilon\kappa\acute{\epsilon}\omega\varsigma$ ? Firmicus is more expansive here, but *captae persuasionibus* is likely to be the relevant phrase). Thus  $[\phi\theta\epsilon\iota\rho]\epsilon\tau[a]\iota\ \acute{\alpha}\tau\rho\epsilon\kappa\acute{\epsilon}\omega\varsigma$ , 'is certainly corrupted', may be surmised, which will have given Firmicus just enough to embellish ( $[\pi\epsilon\iota\theta]\epsilon\tau[a]\iota$  will be too short). (ii)  $\acute{\alpha}\tau\rho\epsilon\kappa\acute{\epsilon}\omega\varsigma$ , however, has nothing to do with seduction or persuasion, but with truthfulness: it is an Ionic poetic equivalent of Attic prose  $\acute{\alpha}\kappa\rho\iota\beta\acute{\epsilon}\varsigma$ , also in scientific prose, Diog. Apol. 64 B 5.3 D.-K.  $\acute{\omicron}\upsilon\ \mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\tau\omicron\iota\ \acute{\alpha}\tau\rho\epsilon\kappa\acute{\epsilon}\omega\varsigma\ \gamma\epsilon\ \delta\mu\omicron\iota\omicron\nu\iota\nu$ ; frequently in *Corpus Hippocraticum*. So it is tempting to connect the word here to Anoubion's claims to veracity elsewhere in his addresses to the would-be astrologer: 4503 back fr. 2.6  $\delta\iota\alpha\kappa\rho\epsilon\iota\acute{\nu}\omega\nu\ \kappa\acute{\epsilon}\psi\iota\nu\ \epsilon\tau\eta\tau\upsilon\mu\acute{\iota}\eta\varsigma$ . In that light we might entertain here  $[\phi\alpha\acute{\iota}\nu]\epsilon\tau[a]\iota\ \acute{\alpha}\tau\rho\epsilon\kappa\acute{\epsilon}\omega\varsigma$ , i.e. a description of the precision and inevitability of the prediction (cf. Manetho 2.229  $\acute{\alpha}\sigma\tau\acute{\epsilon}\rho\epsilon\varsigma\ \epsilon\tau\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\upsilon\sigma\iota\nu\ \tau\grave{\alpha}\ \gamma\grave{\alpha}\rho\ \acute{\alpha}\tau\rho\epsilon\kappa\acute{\eta}\nu\ \mu\acute{\alpha}\lambda\alpha\ \phi\alpha\acute{\iota}\nu\epsilon\iota$ ; Vett. Val. 9.15 p. 343.25 Pingree  $\delta\theta\epsilon\nu\ \kappa\alpha\iota\ \tau\eta\nu\ \acute{\alpha}\tau\rho\epsilon\kappa\acute{\eta}\ \tau\eta\varsigma\ \text{C}\epsilon\lambda\acute{\eta}\nu\eta\varsigma\ \mu\omicron\iota\tau\iota\rho\alpha\nu\ \epsilon\mu\phi\alpha\nu\eta$ ); or better for space:  $[\pi\rho\acute{\alpha}\tau\tau]\epsilon\tau[a]\iota\ (\text{vel sim.})\ \acute{\alpha}\tau\rho\epsilon\kappa\acute{\epsilon}\omega\varsigma$ , i.e. 'things happen exactly as I said truthfully before, except that it brings with it trials ...'. In this case the outcome is predicted in the  $\acute{\alpha}\lambda\lambda\alpha$  clause that follows (same result with added publicity). In favour of (ii) is the fact that the only occurrences of  $\acute{\alpha}\tau\rho\epsilon\kappa\acute{\epsilon}\omega\varsigma$  in Manetho both come as part of authorial claims for truthfulness: 2.4  $\epsilon\nu\ \pi\rho\omicron\tau\acute{\epsilon}\rho\alpha\iota\varsigma\ \kappa\epsilon\lambda\acute{\iota}\delta\epsilon\varsigma\ \mu\acute{\alpha}\lambda\prime\ \acute{\alpha}\tau\rho\epsilon\kappa\acute{\epsilon}\omega\varsigma\ \kappa\alpha\tau\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\epsilon\varsigma\alpha$ ; 5.12  $\tau\acute{\alpha}\delta\epsilon\ \pi\acute{\alpha}\nu\tau\alpha\ \mu\acute{\alpha}\lambda\prime\ \acute{\alpha}\tau\rho\epsilon\kappa\acute{\epsilon}\omega\varsigma\ \kappa\alpha\tau\alpha\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\xi\omega$  (but both of these in proemia). Against (i) is the problematic sense of the Latin: there is no element there corresponding to  $\acute{\alpha}\tau\rho\epsilon\kappa\acute{\epsilon}\omega\varsigma$ .

8  $\acute{\alpha}\lambda\lambda\alpha$ : replicated by *sed* in Firmicus (6.29.24), who adds *ex occasione* 'sometimes', thereby making clear that this is to be understood as a possible (even more) negative outcome in addition, i.e. under this sign one can expect bad consequences in general. But it seems to have nothing to do per se with predictions about marriage. Has it slipped into the particular concerns of this section (and thence into Firmicus' account) from some other source or scheme of organisation?

$\kappa\rho\acute{\iota}\varsigma\epsilon[\iota\varsigma]\ \epsilon\pi[\acute{\iota}]\ \acute{\alpha}\gamma\epsilon\iota$ : cf. Manetho 1.315  $\kappa\rho\acute{\iota}\varsigma\epsilon\iota\varsigma\ \kappa\alpha\iota\ \nu\epsilon\acute{\iota}\kappa\epsilon\prime\ \epsilon\chi\omicron\nu\tau\alpha\varsigma$ ; 2.56  $\kappa\iota\nu\delta\acute{\upsilon}\nu\omicron\nu\varsigma\ \tau\prime\ \epsilon\pi\acute{\alpha}\gamma\epsilon\iota$ . The same prediction appears at Manetho 3.186 with very similar language:  $\kappa\rho\acute{\iota}\varsigma\epsilon\iota\varsigma\ \tau\epsilon\ \delta\acute{\iota}\kappa\alpha\iota\ \tau\prime\ \acute{\alpha}\gamma\omicron\rho\eta\eta\varsigma\ \pi\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\omicron\nu\tau\alpha\iota$ .

9 'But things are worse if Mars is found together with Mercury': a general prediction (see on 8), to cover a variation in position over that given in 6–7.  $\chi\epsilon\acute{\iota}\rho\omicron\nu$  = Firmicus' *maiora*. There is a close parallel in 4505 fr. 1.6:  $[\kappa\rho\epsilon\acute{\iota}]\tau\tau\omicron\nu\ \delta\prime\ \eta\nu\ \epsilon\acute{\iota}\delta\eta\ \tau\eta\nu\ \dots$ , 'but it is stronger if (Venus or Jupiter) is in aspect to her (the Moon)', where Firmicus relates this directly to the preceding prediction as an additional specification of the position under consideration (6.30.20 *sed haec fortius conualescent si ...*, 'these predictions increase in probability, if ...'). For the significance of the paragraphos after this line see below on 12.

$\kappa\upsilon\nu\pi\alpha\rho[\acute{\epsilon}]\eta$ : regularly of planets occupying the same position: Vett. Val. 2.4 p. 59.12 Pingree; cf. Manetho 4.319  $\acute{\mathcal{A}}\rho\eta\varsigma\ \delta\prime\ \alpha\acute{\iota}\theta\alpha\lambda\acute{\omicron}\epsilon\iota\varsigma\ \pi\alpha\rho\acute{\epsilon}\eta\ \kappa\upsilon\nu\ \tau\omicron\iota\varsigma\ \delta\iota\omega\gamma\mu\omicron\iota\varsigma$ .

11 Firmicus (6.30.1) has *in vicino sit signo*. The standard expression of this disposition in Manetho (e.g. 3.330) is  $\theta\pi\iota\kappa\theta\epsilon\nu\ \acute{\iota}\omega\nu$  + dative (e.g.  $\zeta\acute{\omega}\omega$ ); cf. 3.48  $\acute{\alpha}\nu\tau\iota\pi\acute{\epsilon}\rho\eta\theta\epsilon\nu\ \acute{\epsilon}\omicron\nu\tau\omicron\varsigma$ . But it is difficult to see how anything like this could have occupied the first two feet here. We might attempt to read  $\tau\acute{\omega}\ \delta\prime\ \acute{\alpha}\gamma\chi\prime\ [\acute{\alpha}\rho]\tau\iota$ . For  $\acute{\alpha}\gamma\chi\iota$ , Manetho 1.121, 3.50 (although in both cases it controls the genitive).

$\zeta\omega\iota\delta[\acute{\iota}]\omega\ \delta\prime\ \text{K}\rho\acute{\omicron}\nu\omicron\varsigma$ : the suprascript  $\omega\nu$  after  $\zeta\omega\iota\delta[\ ]\omega$  to be added (not substituted) before  $\delta\prime\ \text{K}\rho\acute{\omicron}\nu\omicron\varsigma$ , with the final syllable of  $\zeta\omega\iota\delta[\acute{\iota}]\omega$  shortening in correction before  $\acute{\omega}\nu$ , taken as complementary participle with  $\tau\acute{\upsilon}\chi\eta$ , again, apparently correctly (cf. var. lect. in 2). We could read  $\zeta\omega\iota\delta\acute{\iota}\omega\ \delta\prime\ \text{K}\rho\acute{\omicron}\nu\omicron\varsigma$  without the suprascript addition, but with it the hiatus is neatly avoided.

ὁ Κρόνος: the article usually omitted with the planet names and their epithets, but appears at times nevertheless, as also in Manetho: see 13 ἡ τε Κύπρις, 15a τὴν Κερόεσσαν; **4503** back fr. 2.8 τοῦ Πυρόεντος, **4505** fr. 1.6 as restored τὴν Κυ[θήρην].

12 'and Venus effects a conjunction with him (sc. Saturn) first'. But in the Latin Saturn is the subject of the construction. πρώτ[ω]ι τούτῳ seems closer to Firmicus' *ipse primus* (cf. Manetho 3.36 ἐν πρότερω δ' ὥρης ζῳῶ Φαίνων προθέσιν; 5.108 ἡ συναφὴν πρώτοιό λαβὴ πολιοῖο Κρόνοιό). But for space and (exiguous) traces we could have πρώτη τούτῳ, i.e. πρώτη agreeing with Κυθήρεια.

After 12 the placement of the paragraphos is puzzling (cf. on 1), since it falls in the middle of a prediction. As it stands, the positions described in 10–15 are too complex and contradictory taken together to delineate either the marriage sign or the birth sign of a single individual. Perhaps it combines both, with the paragraphos marking off the configuration which is that of the marriage sign (10–12) from that of the (husband's) birth sign (12–15). (The paragraphos after 9 would in this case set off a prediction which combines both.) It is true that none of the configurations described are specifically said to be those of the husband; but something to this effect may have been said in the lost 15b (where Firmicus gives the missing *Luna et horoscopo*, together with the less crucial *Sol sit in MC*), and in any case 16 makes it clear that the prediction is for a male, while 17 gives the complementary genethliacal details for the female counterpart. If this is correct (and if it is not, the position described in 13, missing in the prediction as related by Firmicus 6.30.1, both repeats 10 and conflicts with the position given in 11), the papyrus text has been very well marked indeed, despite the possible loss of a crucial bit of information in 15b.

14 ὀλοός: 'deadly', as often of Mars: Hephaestion p. 260.17, 285.25 Pingree; cf. Manetho 3.464.

15a μῶνος is by far the more common form: Doroth. fr. V 27.13 p. 402 Pingree (of Selene); Manetho 1.436, 3.551, 4.138, 5.93, 296. But μουνάξ appears in this same prediction at Manetho 3.157; so also Doroth. fr. V 25.59 p. 399 Pingree (of Venus).

Φαίνων = Saturn: see Arist. *De mundo* 2.9; Cic. *ND* 2.20 for the etymology as 'shiner'.

15b At least one hexameter has dropped at this point (as similarly after P. Schubart 15.35, and the pentameters in **4503** front), where Firmicus (6.30.1) supplies an additional position: *et Sol sit in MC*, *Luna et horoscopo in Cancro constitutis*, i.e. if the Sun is in mid-heaven, and the Moon and the ascendant are both in Cancer. The prediction in 16 seems rather brief in comparison with Firmicus' (who explains that one will be in this way removed from celestial protection), and in particular begins with a disjunctive particle, thus omitting the rather crucial reference to intercourse with one's mother. We need at least one line supplying the Greek for *Luna et horoscopo in Cancro constitutis* (possibly also specifying that the prediction is for a male), together with a reference to the mother: e.g. ἡ τότε μητρί vel sim. There seems to have been a chiasmic ordering in the Greek: 15b–16 μητρί ... μητρυνῇ apparently matched in 18 (if not hopelessly corrupt) by step-father ... father. Firmicus, on the other hand has *matrum aut nouercas* balanced by *patri aut uirico*.

16 μητρυνῇ: for other instances of μητρογάμος in astrological forecasts see Hephaestion 2.21.17 p. 175 Pingree, Ptol. *Tetr.* 188, 19 ff., and the passages cited by Cumont, *L'Égypte* 178 n. 3, 179 nn. 3–4. Firmicus at this point (6.30.1) explains that tradition records that Oedipus had precisely this birth-chart. Manetho gives Oedipus' horoscope at 6.160–9. Anoubion gives the same prediction but omits all mention of the mythological exemplum. Judged from **4505** he also omitted them elsewhere (though see below on col. iii 9).

μείζεται: cf. P. Schubart 15.36 καὶ [θυγα]τρὸς κοίτῃ μείζεται οὗχ ὁσίως.

17–18 'But if it is a woman who is born with this birth-chart, she will (be called the wife of? go to bed with?) either her step-father or father'.

17 The entire line replicated exactly in Firmicus (6.30.1 *si uero mulieris fuerit ista genitura*). In this way it is made clear that the previous prediction was for a male, though this is nowhere stated, and only revealed at the termination in 16 αἰνότατος. Presumably Anoubion means this prediction to be combined with the marriage sign described at 10–12: if a woman with this birth sign marries under that marriage sign, the prediction in 18 will ensue. Note that here a relatively technical qualification (= 'in the case of a woman ...') occupies an entire formulaic hexameter, which as such could be potentially reused over and over in different predictions.

18 ἀνδρὸς< >: There is not room for the signa; perhaps it was omitted along with the following word, which has dropped. If we read ἀνδρὸς< >, we will still be short a half foot before the caesura, which has apparently dropped. The Homeric possessive pronoun ἑῆς (after ἀνδρὸς< >, of/with 'her own mother's husband', i.e. her step-father) or τοῖ or something similar must be supplied. For the possessive pronoun ἑῆς see Manetho 3.359, 5.105, 111. The pronoun is missing in Firmicus for the woman's horoscope, though it is

given for the man (6.30.1 *matrum suarum ... nouercas suas*), where it is unstated in Anoubion (unless it came in the lost 15b).

λέξεται: What does it mean? (i) 'she will be called her own mother's husband's', i.e. be 'said to belong to' i.e. 'be the wife of' her stepfather: future of λέγω with passive sense as at Eur. *Alc.* 322, LSJ sv. III citing Soph. *OC* 1186, Eurip. *Hec.* 906, *IT* 1047 λέξεται ... ἔχων 'shall be spoken of as having'; emended from οὐδὲν λέξαι at Aesch. *Ag.* 170. At Soph. *TrGF* III fr. 86 Radt πατὴρ κεκληθεῖσθαι means 'to be one's father's own son' (LSJ sv. πατήρ); or (ii) future of λέχομαι: 'she will lie down (with)' her stepfather, etc. This usually means 'in sleep' (compl. dat.), but cf. *Od.* 17.102 λέξομαι εἰς εὐνὴν; 4.305 πὰρ δ' Ἑλένη ... ἐλέξατο. The awkwardness of the double genitive must be endured in either case (with or without the possessive pronoun), if the text there is sound. If the expression μητέρος ἄνηρ is deemed awkward even for this poet, then some deeper corruption might be envisaged, such as the omission of κηδεστής, -ου or πατριός or the like. In λέξεται the lambda seems certainly read. Emendation to e.g. <ἔρον> δέξεται is tempting. Or <ἔροσφ>λέξεται?

19 Unusually here the prediction comes first followed by an introduction of the Moon as the determinate sign for the already stated outcome. The actual position of the moon for this result is postponed until 21 ff., where it is introduced by the pronoun τήνδε in 20. For this demonstrative pronoun pointing ahead see **4505** fr. 2.6. There, however, it introduces an extended outcome, whereas here it introduces an elaborate prediction and positioning of signs.

στειραι: Cumont, *L'Égypte* 185 with n. 2 for parallels, apparently one of the miseries of everyday life. Similarly ἄσπερμοι 'without issue': *Il.* 20.303, Hephaestion p. 8.15 Pingree; Manetho 1.185, 2.284, 3.267, 395.

20 μοῖραν ... τήνδε: i.e. as described in 21 ff. Firmicus' account (6.30.2-3) apparently expands these lines into two separate and different predictions, both with similar outcomes. Cf. on **4503** back fr. 2.9-12. Anoubion, however, gave a single prediction both for males (19 ἄσπερμοι ἄνδρες) and females (19 στειραι), whereas Firmicus gives only the chart for males.

21 ἔνθεν: initial at Manetho 4.331.

ἰσημερινή: 'equinox'.

μέγας ἥλιος: the Sun similarly denominated by the ornamental epithet μέγας in the series of six elegiac distichs quoted from Anoubion by Hephaestion 2.2 (p. 90 Pingree) at line 2:

ῥονόμον δὲ μάθοις ὥρης ἄτερ ἄστρασιν ἅλλοις

σκεπτόμενος Μήνην καὶ μέγαν Ἥλιον.

He is not so called by either Manetho or Hephaestion, but is by Dorotheus fr. V, 5 16-17 p. 386 Pingree. Note that Firmicus speaks not of the Sun at all in the corresponding passage at 6.30.2-3, but rather of the Moon, in relation to the equinox.

ῥιθεν: the aorist, of course, need not be temporal (cf. **4503** back fr. 2.10). But if it is, the passage seems to be lapsing into a poetic narrative about the motion and relative positioning of the planets (or alluding to or quoting another version of this prediction?).

ῥδεύων: cf. Manetho 3.125, 6.76.

ὑποχθόν[ι]ος. III **464** 44 has the beginning of a hexameter ὅσσοι ὑποχθονίῳ τε καί. For the expression (i.e. the astral position *imum medium caelum*, IMC) see Manetho 2.53, 126, 3.147, 156, 238.

23 Cf. Manetho 3.176 δυτικῶ ἐνὶ κέντρῳ.

### Col. iii

1 e.g. ῥν [δὲ κτλ.

1-21 It is impossible to distinguish the hexameters from the pentameters, since 21 is certainly not the end of the book (the verses in **4503** back and **4505** must have followed).

9 Beneath the line is a paragraphos, perhaps marking punctuation or delineating a section as in col. ii. An asterisk-shaped graphic, with a hook over left on the diagonal stroke at upper left (as though in shape of chi?), between two horizontal lines, is drawn level with lines 8-11. A coronis in this shape is found e.g. XXVI **2441** (see Turner, *GMAW*<sup>2</sup> no. 22) and in V **841** (Pindar's *Paeans*), together with a regular coronis to the right. But this cannot be the end of the book (see 20-1 and n. on 1-21). None of the line beginnings here are coincident with those of **4503** back nor the concluding lines (as restored) in **4505** (fr. 2.4-10). Although the composite nature of that text (excerpts compiled by subject headings?) makes it uncertain whether we should expect precisely the same text and book-division here, the Latin at least provides some control and helps to pin-point the book-end (see introd.).

For the asteriskos see Turner, *GMAW*<sup>2</sup> pp. 12-13 especially 13 n. 62; K. McNamee, *Sigla and Select*



*Marginalia* (1992) 11 with n. 19, and 25. At end of book it denotes closure (end of *Iliad*, beginning of comedy: P. Ant. I 15); elsewhere change: change of speaker (Barcelona *Alcestis*), metre, poem or sections within them (Hephaestion p. 74.8 Consbruch) (for variance of reading as a critical sign see McNamee, *Sigla* p. 9 n. 4). But none of these really applies here. Nor does Firmicus' Latin version give any clear indication of what might have been signalled, though he does elaborate the names of famous mythological and historical figures who, he claims, had the birth-charts described. But col. ii 16 (where see note), together with **4505**, makes clear that these were lacking in Anoubion. Rather than signaling textual disruption, the sign here probably heralds the beginning of a new section or type of prediction (e.g. from bad to good outcomes, for which transition see Firmicus 6.30.19, immediately before **4505**). A close parallel is found in the medical recipes P. Ant. III 160 (iv AD) where a dotted chi signals the start of a new recipe (McNamee, *Sigla* p. 39). The use of subject headings to divide predictions in **4505** may be compared (see on **4505** introd. and above on col. ii 16).

10 Perhaps  $\epsilon\iota\nu$  for  $\epsilon\nu$ , as in ii 10.

21  $\kappa\alpha\iota \Phi[\alpha\acute{\epsilon}\theta\omega\nu$  (=Sol), or  $\kappa\alpha\iota \Phi[\alpha\acute{\iota}\nu\omega\nu$  (=Saturn)?

D. OBBINK

### 4505. ANOUBION, ELEGIACS

36 4B.95/D(3-4)a

5.4 × 16.8 cm

Late second/early third century  
Plate XIV

A strip down the middle of a column (the last?) from a papyrus roll, broken horizontally across the middle into two pieces: fr. 1 preserving top margin and eight lines; fr. 2: 10 lines followed by book number (surrounded by decorative finials), title (two lines), and foot of column. Fibre continuities suggest that both are part of the same column, one above the other, but space in between is undetermined. As set out below, no gap is presumed between the two fragments; it is possible (but unlikely) that line 1 of fr. 2 is part of line 8 of fr. 1 (see on fr. 1.8). Continuity with the Latin version (fr. 2.9  $\rho\eta\tau\eta\rho\alpha$  = Firmicus Maternus 6.30.22 *orator*) suggests that not many lines have been lost. Elegiac distichs in whole or part. **4505**, however, differs from **4503-4** (and P. Schubart 15) by the introduction of prose headings (at fr. 1.2 and 7) setting off groups of distichs (cf. III **464**). In fr. 1 lines began 2-4 letters to the left of the preserved edge, and within a letter or two (due to column drift) of the left margin in fr. 2, thus showing that the hexameters began at the same point as the pentameters.

Text written across the fibres. On the other side (front), along the fibres, are two columns of a document concerning granaries (ii 9  $\theta\eta\kappa\alpha\nu[\rho-]$ ), consisting of ends of lines (col. i, some with numbers) and beginnings of lines (col. ii) separated by an intercolumn, in a large hand reminiscent of the chancery style in its elegance and vertical extension. Anoubion is written on the back, in a smallish rounded decorated informal hand of a fluid character, with some cursive tendencies (e.g. fr. 1.2  $\kappa\alpha\iota$ ), but with affinities (like the documentary hand on the front) to the 'chancery' style. The text of Anoubion thus joins a small group of literary texts identified as written in styles related to or influenced by the 'chancery' script. See T. Renner in *Akten des 21. Int. Papyrologenkongresses* (Stuttgart and Leipzig 1997) ii 827-34, whose comparisons (p. 828) suggest a date late in the second or early third centuries; for dated parallels, esp. Schubart, *P. Gr. Berol.* no. 28



(194 AD) and 32b (210 AD), cf. no. 27. In **4505** there is slight vertical extension, so that 'square' letters (and some round ones, like  $\theta$ , but not  $o$ ,  $c$ ,  $\omega$ , or bowl of  $\phi$ ) are taller than they are wide (e.g.  $\epsilon$ ,  $\theta$ ,  $\nu$ ,  $\eta$ ). Note the typical chancery  $\kappa$  (fr. 2.8) with lower arm dipping down below the line before levelling out to horizontal, top arm added last, arcing slightly. The hand is generally upright, resisting a slight inclination to the right; written moderately fast, with many ligatures (cf.  $\mu\alpha\tau$  in fr. 2.13); top-stroke of  $\tau$  sloping down at right; u-shaped  $\beta$  in fr. 2.4. Decoration: tiny finials on the feet of uprights, left-facing hooks on the tops of  $\iota$ ,  $\phi$ , approaching 'blobs' in places ( $\iota$  in fr. 2.12, top of  $\phi$  in 2.4); delta (possibly Roman-sourced) with sagging base and right side closer to vertical than the left, which overlaps the apex with a hook to the left. Diminutive  $o$  and  $c$ , likewise bowl of  $\rho$  and  $\omega$  which floats between top and bottom line, in contrast to the larger bowls of  $\theta$  and  $\phi$  which fill the space between top and bottom lines;  $\alpha$  also raised slightly in the line with a tail rising to near horizontal to connect with the following letter. There is a general bilinearity, broken by  $\iota$ ,  $\kappa$  (fr. 2.8),  $\rho$  and  $\phi$ .

The original tops and bottoms of both column and roll are preserved, with top and bottom margins of 2.9 cm and 2.8 cm respectively. The column will have contained at least 8 (fr. 1) + 10 (fr. 2), plus 4 (2 for book number, two for title), or at least 22 lines. Assuming no loss between fr. 1 and 2, this will have been the approximate height of the columns elsewhere in the roll, if the colophon with book number and title has been placed at the bottom of notional column space. The exact extent of the work cannot be determined; it is uncertain whether the text was precisely the same as in the other copies or not (see on **4504** introd. and col. iii 9). But the subscription in fr. 2 presumes at least one complete book, written in this case on the back of a recycled document.

A few lectional signs: internal (inorganic) trema at fr. 1.6 and fr. 2.5 ( $\epsilon\epsilon\iota\delta\eta$ ), but no accents, breathings or quantity marks. Sometimes word-spacing is interposed (e.g. fr. 1.1  $\kappa\alpha\sigma\iota\gamma\nu\eta\tau\omega\nu \epsilon\iota\varsigma$ ), but not consistently and sometimes ineptly (fr. 1.2). Paragraphoi were written (as in **4503**, **4504**, and **4506** and **4507**) after fr. 1.1 and 6, separating individual predictions (as in III **464** and PSI III 157). A longer one extends under the first three preserved letters of fr. 2.10, marking the end of the book (was it combined with a coronis?).

Elision is effected but marked inconsistently: marked with apostrophe by the same scribe at the time of writing in fr. 2.3 and 6 after  $\theta$  (which presumes  $\acute{\epsilon}\nu\iota$ , unless the  $\theta$  has been written in error as at **4503** front fr. 2.5), but tacit elision in fr. 2.4 and 5. There is orthographic division of double consonants ( $\tau'\tau$ ) by apostrophe in fr. 1.6 (apparently added later by same scribe). Iota adscript never written, as far as we can tell. Only one scribe at work, who introduced no corrections.

Using Firmicus as a guide, **4505** can be situated in Anoubion's poem, c. 50 verses after **4504** (17 predictions after Firmicus at 6.30.20–3 @ 3 lines per prediction on average), and c. 40 verses after **4503** back (13 predictions after Firmicus 6.30.6). It is unclear whether we have a complete or abridged copy with section headings inter-

polated, or a selection of excerpts organised by topic. The book number (*I*) indicates that in this edition at any rate Anoubion's poem extended to at least three books.

The groups of distichs (apparently containing complete predictions) are prefaced by prose headings, describing the sort of person who could be expected to be born under the given signs and be subject to the predicted outcomes. Similar inset prose headings, describing a type of person and couched in the genitive (with and without *περί*), likewise preface the astrological epigrams preserved in III 464, where in each case they follow a paragraphos marking the conclusion of each of the predictions. These headings describing types of people may anticipate the examples of famous people (some of them from myth) given occasionally by Manetho and in particular by Firmicus for the predictions in this section. Yet the prose headings occur before the predictions, not after them as the exempla do in Manetho and Firmicus. It is at least clear that Anoubion's poem did not contain the exempla where we would have expected them from Firmicus or Manetho. Firmicus gives Oedipus at 6.30.1 = 4504 ii 16, Paris at 6.30.12, Demosthenes at 6.30.22 = 4505 fr. 2, and adds four additional horoscopes—not in 4505—for Homer, Plato, Pindar and Archilochus, and Archimedes in a crescendo at 6.30.23–6 that closes section 6.30. Anoubion's third book ends at the point where Firmicus adduces Demosthenes as an example of a rhetor's horoscope.

It is worth asking what purpose a collection of predictions organised and headed by type of individual would serve. Did it allow one to confirm whether a person's (known) childlessness, wealth, etc. was predicted by their birth or marriage sign, or even to ascertain one's sign, for individuals who did not know when they themselves were born (and how many knew?) or were unable to compute the hour precisely? Or did it allow an astrologer to choose his predictions according to a desired outcome, and e.g. to tailor his predictions according to customer or for identical arrangement of birth signs? This is in fact suggested by Rhetorios at *CCAG* VIII 4 p. 208.4 ff., citing Anoubion as an authority, when he advises that the astrologer should pay special attention to the characteristics of his clients, their virtues and defects, so as to avoid predicting e.g. for someone who suffers from gout that he will be winner in a footrace, or for a blind man that he will become a painter. If this is correct, the prose headings might derive at some stage from the design of the author himself (were they originally verses here paraphrased as prose headings?).

Or are the prose headings simply an accoutrement of the literary collection, like the headings which preface the individual epigrams in 4502? If so, they may suggest that 4505 is more a collection of epigrams rather than a continuous poem. And if so, were the verses (i) excerpted from a pre-existing poem in elegiac distichs? Or (ii) was Anoubion's poem later elaborated from individual epigrams like these, collected into a continuous poem? If (ii) we would expect them to be intelligible and complete in themselves. (i) might explain some of the incoherence, corruption, and lack of connection in 4505 as a typical result of abridgement (so also in III 464 and PSI III 157). The fact that Firmicus' section 6.30 continues for four more predictions (the obviously later

embellished exempla notwithstanding), might suggest that **4505** derives from a fuller original version which has been curtailed to produce something like an anthology of astrological epigrams. The presence of a formal proem setting out systematic principles of the science in **4503** suggests a planned organisation for the poem, perhaps even the versification of a prose treatment. But practice may have differed when it came to the collection of predictions: these may have multiplied in compilation through one edition of Anoubion to another, according to the predilections of the practitioner or the industry of the collector.

In the articulated text below, the prose headings are given in bold type to distinguish them from the distichs. In the papyrus they are written in the same hand, style, and spacing as the rest of the text except for the fact that they are inset from the beginnings of the poetic lines, perhaps centred in the column (as is the title in the colophon, fr. 2.13).

## Fr. 1

↓

] κασιγνητων εισγαμονη . [   
 ευχαριτοσαν θρωπου και . [   
 ] ν ειστετραγωνον επαν . [   
 ] η ευπρακτους προςφιλε . [   
 5 ] τουσαλοχοις φιλοις χαριε[   
 ] τ' τον δηνεσιδητην κυ[   
 πεπαιδευμενου και φι . [   
 ] . ν και π[ . . ] . εις κ . [   
 . . . . .

## Fr. 2

↓

. . . . .   
 ] . [ . . . . . ] . . . [   
 ] . ν . [ . . . . . ] αγων[   
 ω   
 ] ον δ' ημην ασχηματριγω[   
 ] . ιος δανατοι φορεην βιοτ[   
 5 ] δεκατονδεσιδην θεματ[   
 ] . θ' ενι θεις εισητονταδε . [   
 ] ηθη χαριεντα φιλους ηδιστ[   
 ] . ντοι ης αρετης και σοφιας μ[   
 ] . θων τε ρητη ραταχυν πρ . [

$\begin{array}{c} \downarrow \\ > \Gamma < \\ \wedge \end{array}$   
 ] περι του δεσποτου  
 [ του θεματος

1 [ , high trace of upright with connecting oblique at top,  $\nu$ ,  $\gamma$  not excluded? beneath this line, very tip of paragraphos spaced evenly between the lines under first preserved trace 2 [ , high top with trace of foot arcing back left at bottom,  $\mu$  possible 3 [ , curving left side, deep rounded saddle, and top tip of right upright of  $\mu$ , like the  $\mu$  in 7 4 [ , trace slightly below mid-level, close in to  $\epsilon$ , a round letter likely;  $\omicron$ ,  $\epsilon$ ,  $\omega$ ,  $\varsigma$ ,  $\theta$ ;  $\alpha$  not excluded 6 beneath this line, very tip of paragraphos beneath first  $\tau$  8 ] , very likely  $\omega$  ligatured into following  $\nu$ , as in 1  $\tau\omega\nu$  and fr. 2.2  $\gamma\omega\nu$  ]  $\epsilon\iota\varsigma$ , before  $\epsilon\iota\varsigma$  an arc in the upper right quadrant,  $\rho$  or  $\varsigma$  suggested  $\kappa$  [ , at end after kappa, oblique with blob at top as in left half of  $\lambda$ , but  $\alpha$  not excluded if written as in fr. 2.5  $\delta\epsilon\kappa\alpha\tau\omicron\nu$

1 ] . . . [ , second letter lower half of  $\xi$  or  $\varsigma$ , but rather horizontal extending stroke at mid-level suggests the former over the latter; then an upright with a finial on the foot,  $\nu$ ,  $\eta$ ,  $\pi$ ,  $\gamma$ , even  $\epsilon$  (but not  $\rho$ ) 2 ] , right side of bowl, somewhat angular at lower right; a flattened  $\phi$  suggested,  $\omega$  not ruled out? 4 ] , leg of  $\lambda$ , perhaps sufficiently oblique to rule out  $\alpha$ ? 6 ] , right arm of  $\nu$  7 ] , stroke without serif or extension at foot leaning to right at top, with another stroke sloping down from a tight loop to lower right,  $\mu$  suggested: not  $\iota$ ,  $\kappa$ ,  $\lambda$ ,  $\nu$ , or  $\pi$  8 ] , trace curving down into  $\nu$  more obliquely than would be expected for epsilon (cf. epsilon in 10  $\gamma$   $\epsilon\nu\nu\alpha\iota\phi\nu$ ), better  $\alpha$  9 ] , right-hand arm of  $\nu$  10 ] , high tip of an upright 11 ] , horizontal cross bar extending at mid-level, tongue of  $\epsilon$ , with tip of cap above 12 ] , at end, horizontal slanting slightly down, but not as oblique as expected for  $\nu$  (but  $\nu$  not excluded?), thus likely  $\gamma$  (cf. fr. 1.1, fr. 2.2) below this line, a paragraphos spaced liberally beneath the line, extending to half way beneath the second  $\nu$

(Firm. Mat. *Math.* 6.30.20-23)

↓

[καὶ δὲ] κασιγνήτων εἰς γάμον ἡ. [  
 εὐχάριτος ἀνθρώπου καὶ. [  
 [δεξιὸν] εἰς τετράγωνον ἔπᾶν Μ[ήνην Ἀφροδίτη]  
 [εἰσίδ]ῃ, εὐπράκτους προσφιλέα[ς τε φέρει]  
 5 [τιμ]ητοὺς ἀλόχοισι, φίλοις χαρίζ[ντας ἅπασιν.]  
 [κρεῖ]ττον δ' ἦν ἐσίδῃ τὴν Κυ[θήρην Κρονίων.]  
πεπαιδευμένου καὶ φιλ[ολόγου]  
 [Cτίλβ]ων καὶ Π[υρ]όεις κα[ὶ Φωσφόρος εἰν ἐνὶ ζῳῳ]

(20) si Luna in MC. fuerit inuenta, et in IMC. Uenus constituta partili Lunam radiatione respiciat, ista coniunctio incestae cupiditatis ardore sorores fratribus iunget uxores. (21) si in dextro quadrato Lunae Uenus fuerit collocata, faciet homines ad omnia officia negotiorum praeparatos, qui sibi multarum amicitiarum praesidia conquirant, et quos uxores fido diligunt semper affectu, et facit omnibus amicis amabili caritate coniunctos. sed haec fortius conualescent, si unum de duobus trigonica Iuppiter radiatione respiciat.





virtue and intelligence, and a rhetor who produces a swift hurricane of words, a noble, high-sounding, formidable pursuer of judgement.

(Book) 3  
[            ] *On the Ruling Sign*  
*of the Third (?) (i.e. type of?) Horoscope'*

Fr. 1

1 [καὶ δὲ]: The same beginning at Manetho 4.407 καὶ δὲ κασιγνήτων. At the end, we need verb of motion/causation (ἡγ[άγετο]?): 'leads (someone with this sign) into marriage with siblings', unless this verb is understood from the preceding hexameter, in which case we could have the subject here, e.g. ἡ τ[ε] Κύπρις] (a line-end at **4504** ii 13).

3 *'in dextro quadrato'*: thus [δεξιῶ]ν (suggested by A. Jones). The line is left uncomfortably without a connecting particle, though for another case cf. **4504** ii 2. Perhaps a distich has dropped, or was omitted when these lines were excerpted. (i) the verb is understood: 'when Venus (is situated) in right square to the Moon ...', with Venus as subject named at the end of the line, e.g. ἐπὰν Μ[ήνην Κυθήρεια]; (ii) the verb was expressed at the beginning of the line, with no specification in Anoubion of a *right*-square; (iii) but the postponed ἐπὰν leads us to expect an expressed verb, either at the end of line (e.g. ἐπὰν Μ[ήνην ἐσαθρήσει]) or beginning of the next. Thus Venus as subject must be understood from the preceding prediction, or supplied at line end or the beginning of the next: cf. Manetho 5.122 Ἄρης δ' ἦν τετράγωνον ἴδοι καλὴν Ἀφροδίτην.

ἐπὰν: Epic and Ionic for ἐπεὶ, normally a metrical variant, but we could as well correct to ἐπὴν here. Manetho does not have ἐπὰν, but often uses the epic variant ἐπὴν for ἐπεὶ.

4 *'faciet homines ad omnia officia negotiorum praeparatos, qui sibi multarum amicitiarum praesidia conquirant'*: the masculine plural accusatives in 4 and 5 show that we have an ἀστὴρ ἄνδρας construction, i.e. the type of prediction which expresses in the plural the sort of person a given configuration will produce. Whether we supply [Ἀφροδίτ]η or [εἰσίδ]η at the beginning (and the other at the end of 3) we will have in either case corruption of the third syllable. For the enjambment with the pentameter see **4503** front fr. 2.3–4, cf. 10–11, Anoubion ap. CCAG II 202.33–6.

εὐπράκτους: 'successful in practice', cf. Manetho (whose ms. shows the spelling with eta) 2.310, and (in a pentameter) 5.352 εὐπρήκτους ῥέζει καὶ μακαριστοτάτους.

προσφιλέα[ε τε]: the trace before the break is a mere point slightly below mid-level, but close in to ε, so that a round letter or α is preferable, since otherwise we would expect to see the top or bottom of its left upright. For the compound see Manetho 1.240, 329 προσφιλέας θῆκεν; 2.367 προσφιλέεσ.

φέρει: Manetho 6.259 εἴμασι πορφυρέοις τε φέρει κοσμούμενον ἄνδρα; Manetho often has φέρονσι, τελοῦσι, ποιοῦσι, τεύχει, τιθέασι, etc. in the ἀστὴρ ἄνδρας construction. But τελεῖ here would violate Anoubion's preference for paroxytones at verse-end in the pentameter.

5 *'et quos uxores fido diligunt semper affectu, et facit omnibus amicis amabili caritate coniunctos'*: thus we will need a connective, plus an adjective describing how those born under this configuration are regarded by their spouses: either [τιμ]ητούς or [ἰμερ]ητούς will suit (both suggested by Professor Parsons, with other refinements).

ἀλόχοισι: the opposite at Manetho 2.171 ἀλόχοις ἡρμοςσεν ἀεικελίας; cf. 1.272 ἔας κενὰς ἀλόχους. For ἀλόχοισι see also III **464** 59; though the context there is uncertain, the line there is not the same as this one.

χαρίεντας ἀπασι]: =Firmicus' *omnibus amicis*; cf. Manetho 2.73 χαρίεντας ἰδ' ἰμερόντας ἔπεσσι; 6.288.

6 *'sed haec fortius conualescent, si unum de duobus trigonica Iuppiter radiatione respiciat'*: thus we will have [κρεῖ]ττον δ' at the beginning of the line. Cf. III **464** 16 ἀλλοτρίων ὄντων κρεῖττον; and **4504** ii 9 χεῖρον. Here the sense is something like: 'It's even more so the case, if ...'. Jupiter and 'one of the two' (sc. Venus and the Moon) are to be supplied from Firmicus. But the Latin seems to diverge with regard to the position. Κύπρις/ν or Κυ[θερ] - could be read; and τὴν could be the article or the demonstrative. Thus we could have (i) τὴν Κυ[θέρη]ν Κρονίων], 'when Jupiter aspects Venus' (for the article see on **4504** ii 11; the accusative never in Manetho, who has Κυθήρη and Κυθήρης, but Κυθήρειαν and Κυθήρη); this makes Jupiter aspect only one of Firmicus' alternative signs; (ii) τὴν Κύπρις ἢ Κρονίων], 'when Venus or Jupiter aspect her (sc. the Moon)'; but this is even further from what Firmicus says. It seems impossible to fit in *τρίγωνον* and accommodate exactly what Firmicus says. Therefore it seems likely that Firmicus (or an intermediary) has refined or restated the prediction, so that the Latin gives a more complex arrangement with a trigonic configuration, where Anoubion had a simple aspect. In both Anoubion and Firmicus, it is not entirely clear whether this configuration is

meant as a new and independent prediction (separate from that in 2-5), or whether it is a modification of the preceding one, to be taken together with it (the latter seems more likely).

7 πεπαιδευμένου καὶ φιλόλογου]: cf. Firmicus 6.30.24 where the prediction is said to produce someone *qui docili sermone et divini ingenii potestate conpositus*.

8 'et in eadem hora Mars et Mercurius et Venus partiliter fuerint collocati'. Anoubion seems to have had nothing about the *hora* or Virgo (unless it came in the lacuna following, but see below). But if Πυ[ρ]όεις (suggested by A. Jones) can be restored, then [Cτλβ]ων at the beginning is suggested, and conforms admirably to the traces. At end after κ we may have λ (which is not very productive), or possibly α. If κα[ι], then out of possible epithets for Venus we should expect Φωσφόρος to follow, based on Firmicus and metre (the next specification in Firmicus, Jupiter, Κρονίδης or Κρονίων, will not fit the traces here: kappa followed by the left side of alpha or lambda).

[εἰν ἐνὶ ζώῳ]: supplied from 4504 ii 10, where see note.

## Fr. 2

1-3 It cannot be ascertained which were hexameters, which pentameters, or whether these were prose headings.

1 We take this to be part of an independent line (rather than one adjoining with fr. 1.8), but with minimal or even no loss in between: Firmicus' account indicates that the prediction must begin within several lines, and in the Greek we get [Ἡέ]λιος = Sol after three preserved lines (fr. 2.4). Anoubion's positioning of the planets is in any case likely to have been less sophisticated and more economical than in Firmicus.

2 Possibly τετραγων[. Cf. Anoubion ap. Hephaestion 2.2. (p. 91 Pingree) vv. 11-12:

εἰ δέ κεν Ἡελίος γ' ἀλίγας μοίρας ἔχη ἄστρον,  
χρὴ τετράγωνα θ' ὁρᾶν καὶ διάμετρα τόπων.

3 ]ων written as a variant for ]ον (the omicron apparently not cancelled). The proper articulation is not obvious; some re-writing will be required. Perhaps the scribe should have written δ' ἢ Μήνη cχημα. If so and if verse, only one long is lost at the beginning before ]ω or ]ον.

4 'Sol vero in anafora horoscopi id est in Libra sit constitutus, etc.'. From this point the correspondence with Firmicus wanes, but there remain tantalising vestiges of the original. We have a reference to the sun, and δ(ε) probably adding on a modification of a previously commenced position; an apparent hexameter, probably with ἀνά in tmesis and τοι, since ἀνατοι 'harmless' (of two planets in a particular position?) normally has a long second alpha. The shape of a pentameter is not in evidence; if a hexameter, at least one pentameter has dropped, since the next verse (5) is another hexameter.

βιοτ[. At Manetho 3.589 we have βίοντον τελέοντας; at 3.384 the same phrase occurs at line-end. In Manetho βίοντος always refers to the kind of material fortune (usually considerable) provided by a given position of the stars: so also 4503 back fr. 2.12 with note. Thus we expect a verb at line end, e.g. ἔδωκεν, with the Sun as subject (in Firmicus' more complicated configuration, the prediction appears to have been considerably postponed). In light of Firmicus' *anafora*, one could try δ' ἀνά τοι φορέη {ν} βιότ[οιο δυνάστην (*vel sim.* at end). Alternatively, possibly a case of βιότης = ὥροσκόπος (Manetho 4.572) is to be considered.

5 θεματ[. i.e. a horoscope (e.g. Manetho 5.278); cf. fr. 2.13 with note.

6-10 The Greek bears less relation than usual to the Latin, which has been transformed by the interpolation of the historical exemplum, which has been corrupted in the mss. Nevertheless, vestiges of the original can be glimpsed here and there.

6 Beginning either [το]ῦθ' or [τα]ῦθ'. Should we read ἐνὶ θεῖς, in which case what is ἐνὶ? 'when you have put these in one sign? (sc. ζωδῖω) or chart? (sc. cχηματι)' or position? (sc. θέματι, cf. 5 θεματ[. Or has tau been wrongly assimilated to theta (as in 4503 recto fr. 2.16 θ' ἰδίους), and we should read ἐνιθεῖς? (neither expression in Manetho).

εἵς; cf. 4504 ii 2 var. lect. εὔροις, and for the second person used of the would be astrologer in an address see on 4503 front fr. 2.6 and introd. τὰδε could be taken with 7 [εὐ]ρήθη ('the following true characteristics'; for the enjambment, see on fr. 1.4) with the implication that such signs will be true ones, in which case the prediction, with its instruction to the reader in the second person, will be reminiscent of the direct address to the reader in 4503 back fr. 2.3-6, where the reader is instructed to report his findings, having easily discerned cκέψιν ἐτητυμίας (6). The direct address seems to be a feature of design and closure here, since this is the last prediction in the book and effectively its conclusion.

τὸν τὰδε μ[. For the demonstrative, without the article, cf. 4504 ii 6 ἐπὶ τοῦδε τόποις. With τὸν is wanted



a transitive participle to control τάδε, e.g. μ[αἰόμενον], 'one who strives after', or μ[ιγόμενον] 'who combines' these things, i.e. the traits elaborated in 7–10. But divinatory context and epicising style recommend μ[ειρόμενον], 'obtains one's share or lot', e.g. *Il.* 1.278, 616 ἤμιεν μείρεο τιμῆς, 15.189, originally completed by genitive, but in later authors by accusative: LSJ sv. II.1 citing A.R. 3.208, Nic. *Al.* 488.

7 [εὐ]ήθη: in the good sense; presumably masc. acc. sing., in apposition with τὸν μ[ειρόμενον] (rather than neut. pl. agreeing with τάδε in enjambment).

χαρίεντα could of course be neuter plural as well as masc. acc., and we could articulate ἤθη taken as object of μ[ειρόμενον] *vel. sim.* in 6 (i.e. what is produced is not persons, but their characters or qualities). But the beginning would be difficult to accommodate: [πάντ'] ἤθη, 'their entire personality' would be too long at the beginning. Afterwards I had thought to read χαρίεντα φίλους, ἥδιστον ἔπεσιν, taking φίλους as acc. of respect, cf. Manetho 2.73 χαρίεντας ἰδ' ἰμερόεντας ἔπεσιν, or ἥδιστον ἀκούειν, cf. Plato. *Apol.* 38e = Firmicus' *eius dicta*. Professor Parsons, however, suggests χαρίεντα, φίλους ἥδιστα ποιῶντα, which is attractive even without the correspondence to Firmicus' *orator*.

8–9 At the left edge, we seem to be within a letter of the line beginnings at this point; cf. 10.

[π]αντοίης ἀρετῆς καὶ σοφίης: cf. Firmicus' *ad nutrimentum ingenii ... inspiravit ingenium*, and the parallels from Manetho cited below on 9. Probably a genitive of characteristic, describing the kind of person born under this configuration, i.e. 'a man of virtue and wisdom'. Alternatively with the genitives we could also have μ[έτοχον] or μ[έροπα] at line end.

9 [μ]ύθων τε ῥητήρα: a quotation of *Il.* 9.443 (see also below). For the lengthening before ῥ– see West, *Greek Metre* p. 16. Manetho 1.259 has ῥητήρας μύθων τε καὶ εἰν ἀγορήσιν ἀρίστους, 3.350 ῥητήρας μύθων ἀγαθοὺς σοφίῃ τε ἀλ' αἰεὶ; 4.79 ῥητήρας μύθων σοφίῃσι τε πάμπαν ἀρίστους. Note that in Anoubion, Manetho's σοφίῃ and ἀρετῇ came in the preceding pentameter (8).

ῥητήρα ταχύν: ταχύς could refer to speed or power of delivery, and thus be correlated with Firmicus' *orator: in modum fulminum dictorum eius multitudinis animi*. At end, it would also be possible to restore the ending of *Il.* 9.443 πρη[κτῆρά τε ἔργων], thus making the astrological poet quote almost the whole of the line (Phoenix to Achilles: μύθων τε ῥητῆρ' ἔμεναι πρηκτῆρά τε ἔργων). Doubt is cast, however, by A.'s avoidance elsewhere of replicating Homer extensively in favour of rewriting him, and there is nothing corresponding in the Latin, whereas *in modum fulminum* suggests a form of πρηκτῆρ, e.g. πρη[κτῆρα φέροντα, λέγοντα, or πρη[κτῆρι ὅμοιον]. It is at any rate abundantly clear that the Greek did not include mention of Philip of Macedon or Demosthenes given as historical exempla by Firmicus (6.30.22).

10 For δεινόν as a technical term in rhetoric see J. Rea, *ZPE* 99 (1993) 83.

ἀγ[οντα δίκην]: is *exempli gratia*, i.e. the sort of expression that might have given rise to Firmicus' use of Demosthenes as a famous example of this type of person (*non armorum vi sed orationis licentia persequatur*). Professor Parsons suggests ἀγ[ωνοθέτην] (= Firmicus' *pro arbitrio eius*).

11 Γ: For the decorations esp. in colophons on numbers and titles see R. Cribiore, *Writing, Teachers, and Students* (1996) 79 with further literature. Often the book number follows the title in colophons, rather than preceding as here. But practice is not fixed in this regard.

12 It is reasonable to suppose that the author's name, [Ἀνουβίωνος], stood in the genitive in the lacuna, but judged from the preserved distichs, there seems to be only room for c. 8 letters, if one assumes that the lines of the colophon did not extend further left than the lines of the column. In addition, *περι του δεσποτου* (without anything preceding) would be centred more or less exactly on the last line of verse. But this ignores the fact that the Γ (book number) is already positioned in the preceding line far to the left of the centre of the last line of verse. One might have expected the Γ to be centred in the colophon, so that (π)ερι του δεσποτου would be balanced by as many letters to the left of Γ as it shows to the right, and allowing [Ἀνουβίωνος] to stand in this place. Alternatives may be canvassed: perhaps the name stood in the nominative case, or perhaps ἐλεγεία or ἐπιγράμματα preceded *περὶ τοῦ δεσπότου* as part of the title. But when Hephaestion refers to Ἀνουβίων ἐν τοῖς ἐλεγείοις he probably means ἐλεγεία as a description of A.'s verse-form, not as a title (so Gundel and Gundel, *Astrologoumena* 156 n. 41, against Cumont, *CCAG* VIII 1.147).

δεσπότης: the ruling sign of the house, by which the predictions are framed. The prose headings, however, stress not the signs (ζώδια, θέματα) themselves, but the types of people who are born or married under them (see introd., on the prose headings).

13 [τοῦ τρί]του θέματος: θέμα denotes the positioning of the heavenly bodies as charted by the astrologer, i.e. a *genitura*, or what we call a horoscope; cf. 5 θεματ[ ]; Manetho 5.278, 283 (separate θέματα for day and night); Anoubion ap. Hephaestion 2.2. (p. 90 Pingree) vv. 9–10:



χρή δὲ Σεληναίης προτέρης ἀνελέσθαι ἀριθμόν  
ὥρην νυκτερινὴν σκεπτόμενον θέματος.

For the word ending ]του other restorations might be entertained ([καθ' ἐκάς]του θέματος?). It is unclear whether this was a sub-title, or continued the title *περὶ τοῦ δεσπότου* from 12. [τοῦ τρί]του θέματος is recommended at least by the book number (I), entailing two preceding books, presumably each devoted to the dominion of a different sign, though giving particulars for specific accompanying configurations. At least two books might have been suspected from the excerpted distich which closes Manetho book 5:

λοιπὸν μοι Μοῦσαι δότ' ἀεῖσαι πλείονα τούτων  
εἰς ἑτέραν βίβλον τῷδε μέτρῳ πρὸς ἔπος.

(Cf. Usener, *RhMus* N.F. 55 (1900) 336.) Book Three will have presumably dealt with the domination of Venus. Perhaps the 'third type of θέμα is meant'.

At this point (6.30.23-6) Firmicus adds four additional predictions (see introd.), each positive in their outcome and embellished with encomia of Homer, Plato, Pindar and Archilochus, and Archimedes in terms reminiscent of this concluding, positive prediction in Anoubion's third book. This suggests that although inspired by Anoubion, as in 4503 back (see on fr. 2.9-12), Firmicus has diversified his data in order to manufacture multiple predictions out of what in his source was a single one.

D. OBBINK

#### 4506. ANOUBION (?), ELEGIACS

50 4B.30/C(1-3)b  
+ /H(3-4)iii

fr. 1: 7.5 × 9.2 cm

Second century  
Plate XIV

Four fragments from a register of persons with distinguishing characteristics (late i-ii?) recycled as a literary roll. Elegiac distichs are written across the fibres in a respectable bookhand: one fragment with top margin of 2.5 cm and ends of 12 lines, and three further fragments, one of them with line-ends. Fibre alignment (discerned by Dr Coles) confirms the placing of fr. 2 directly below fr. 1, but at an indeterminate interval. The placing of fr. 3-4 is uncertain, and there is no guarantee that they belong to the same column. Hand is a very round upright capital, fairly bilinear; bottom-line violated by only  $\phi$  and  $\rho$ . Letters in general made separately, but there is some connection tolerated, in spite of the formality and speed of the hand (e.g. in fr. 1.1  $\epsilon\nu\tau$ ). Epsilon is of the variety with the mid-stroke extending beyond the arms to the right, with the top coming over so far as sometimes to connect with the tip of the mid-stroke or nearly so. Alpha is of the variety with a flat top but sagging bottom in its left-hand part, which is sometimes only flimsily connected to the right-hand oblique (e.g. fr. 2.6); the oblique sometimes bows inward (fr. 1.3). Hypsilon large and v-shaped, with a tiny loop at bottom, fully bilinear. No decoration, minimal shading. Letter forms suggest second century: the alpha earlier, the hypsilon later. XVIII 2161 Aeschylus, *Dictyulci* (ii AD assigned) = *GMAW*<sup>2</sup> 24 is a rough parallel (except for the alpha, for which see e.g. P. Fayum 6 = *GLH* 9c, Homer, *Iliad*, after early i AD).

There are no reading marks or word articulation. In fr. 3 a paragraphos appears, whether for punctuation or to divide the verses into groups is uncertain. There is no preserved evidence for elision.

There is no identifiable overlap with any known text of Anoubion in either the papyrus fragments or quotations in the secondary tradition, nor with any of the astrological elegiacs not specifically attributed to Anoubion. Diction and content are consistent with them, and identification as elegiacs is beyond question. No link with any part of Firmicus Maternus has been discovered.

Thus the authorship (like that of **4507**) cannot be determined with certainty. If not from Anoubion's original poem, **4506–7** are at least related to Anoubion, in the same way as the other astrological elegiac adespota: III **464** (late iii AD pap. roll), P. Ryl. III 488, P. Schubart 16, PSI III 157 (all ii AD papyrus rolls), the pentameters of the modular elegiac horoscopes interspersed throughout book 5 of Manetho (one quoted as from Manetho by Hephaestion 2.4 p. 102.10–11 Pingree = Manetho 5.167–9), and the astrological elegiac distichs in D. Hagedorn ed., *Der Hiobkommentar des Arianers Julian* (Berlin 1973) 255.5–11, 260.2–6, cf. introd. LXVI–LXIX on Anoubion. Some of these do in fact find parallels scattered throughout the text of Firmicus (e.g. books 3 and 4 in the case of PSI III 157). Even where they do not find such parallels, a case can be made that some of these elegiacs (where textually and metrically sound) derive from A.'s poem. A. Ludwich argued that they all do: 'Das elegische Lehrgedicht des Astrologen Anubion und die Manethoniana', *Philologus* 63 = N.S. 17 (1904) 116–34; id. 'Nachlese zu den Fragmenten des Astrologen Anubion', *Philologus* 64 = N.S. 18 (1905) 280–3. The elegiac distichs attributed to *Ἀνουβίων ἐν τοῖς ἐλεγείοις* by Hephaestion of Thebes and Rhetorios are similarly nowhere paralleled in Firmicus. In any event, the case for Anoubion's authorship of all these elegiacs is stronger, now that it is known (from the proem preserved in **4503**, with **4504–5** and P. Schubart 15) that his work circulated as a formal didactic poem. For III **464** see the corrections of Housman in *CR* 17 (1903) 385–6; W. Kroll, 'Ein astrologischer Dichterling', *Philologus* 63 = N.S. 17 (1904) 135–8; S. Weinstock, *Cd'E* 27 (1952) 216; O. Neugebauer and H. B. van Hoesen, 'Astrological Papyri and Ostraca: Bibliographical Notes', *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 108 (1964) 61 no. 122. Like **4503–5** and the other elegiac adespota, **4506** and **4507** both recycle expressions from Dorotheus and Manetho, confirming the hypothesis of Weinstock (p. 216) that Anoubion and perhaps other writers of astrological epigrams and hexameters reused their own and each other's verses in compilation fashion, as the Manethoniana repeat hexameters of Dorotheus.

The word divisions introduced are not in the papyrus.

Fr. 1

↓

[	]	ερεφην επικεντρος
	[	]ολου
[	]	.ρια κοιρανεουσιν
	[	]αλιν



Fr. 2 is to be placed more or less directly under fr. 1, since the fibres match, with line-ends aligning, but precise gap unknown.

1 This line could be the lower parts of the letters in fr. 1 line 12, but readings are too tenuous to argue for this.

2 αγαγκ...[: a form either of ἀνάγκη (Manetho 2.172, 250, 4.1, 490, 604, 5.7, 320, 6.67) or of ἀναγκαῖος (I.454, 2.400).

3 ]νμης: as Dr Coles observes, cf. **4503** back fr. 2.6 κέψιν ἐτητυμίας.

8 last letter almost entirely obliterated: ς or ν? We could have κέντρον or again ἐπικέντρος (fr. 1.1).

9 First letter could be ο, but if this is a pentameter, a short syllable will be wanted. Thus a ς falling forward?

Fr. 3

↓

.....  
 ..... ]...[  
 .....  
 ]ευκοζμη[  
 ] κεντρ[  
 ]υζοφον[  
 5 ]κρογον[  
 ]...[βει[  
 ]...[  
 .....  
 .....

3 ] , an upright: ι, or right side of ν ...[ , left half of round letter, ο possible, but left open at top: ω?

1 The paragraphos suggests placement near the beginning of the line (even if it is a paragraphos of the exceptionally long variety, such as appear in many subliterate texts, e.g. in the astrological elegiacs III **464**, PSI III 157). But alignment in register on front discourages placement at the line beginnings of the same column as fr. 1–2. Therefore col. ii? Placement of paragraphos after 1 suggests that 1 is a pentameter, 2 a hexameter.

Fr. 4

↓

.....  
 ..... ]βυητε  
 ] αν[ε]ης[  
 ] ανθρω[π]...[  
 ]...ιαμα[ ]τ[  
 5 ]λοιο  
 ]οφθαλμ[



]υϵ . [ . ]ο . [  
 ] . [ . . ]ο [  
 ] . [  
 . . . . .

- 2 ϵ deleted with diagonal stroke    [ , upright: iota, or left side e.g. of η  
 3 ] , horizontal along bottom-line, with oblique slanting into α, probably δ  
 4 before ι, curving left hand side of letter with low sagging stroke coming in at left: μ?

Apparently line-ends (1, 5) but allocation of hexameter and pentameter is difficult.

3 ανθρω[π] : Manetho has ἀνθρώποις often at hexameter-end, esp. in book 5: 162, 183, 200, 228, 280.

5 ]λοιο: perhaps also [κυνο]δοιο (Manetho 5.185) or [ἀλό]χοιο (Manetho 1.71, 360) should be considered.

6 ]οφθαλμ[: probably of a predicted ailment, e.g. Manetho 4.155: Mars in conjunction with the Sun and Moon πῆρωςιν στονόεσσαν ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖσι τίθησιν. If the last word in the line, then both 5 and 6 are hexameters.

D. OBBINK

#### 4507. ANOUBION (?), ELEGIACS

1 1B.115/A(e)  
 +/B(c)

fr. 1: 6 × 2.2 cm

Fourth or fifth century  
 Plates XI–XII

Three fragments from a codex written in a later Biblical maiusculæ. Elegiac distichs are written, discoverable from the metrical shapes of preserved line-ends. There are several terms reminiscent of the epic-Ionic astrological poetic diction; a rare poetic term from astrology shared with Manetho occurs in ↓fr. 2. But the preceding and following lines do not match M.'s text there, being in any case hexameters rather than pentameters. Nor is there any identifiable overlap with sections of Firmicus Maternus to secure an identification with Anoubion as in **4503–5**. Nevertheless the fragments are of interest for the survival of an elegiac *carmen astrologicum* into the later period.

The hand is a formal, rounded Biblical capital with more than usual contrast between thick and thin strokes (e.g. ↓fr. 1.2 in the hypsilon in εϵ which shows in addition the precise angle of the pen) and between wide and narrow letters, and also between square letters which fill the space between top and bottom line and round ones (epsilon, omicron, sigma); unfortunately no clear example of omega. Descenders of rho and hypsilon dive below the base-line; iota projects above the top line, and likewise the vertical of phi, though the one surviving case appears to be restrained. Tails of rho and hypsilon curve back to left. Otherwise little decoration. Triangular alpha in three strokes adds to these features that may exhibit the lingering influence of the severe style. A good comparison is III **411** (B.M. Pap. 1523, Life of Alcibiades), *GMAW*<sup>2</sup> no. 71, parchment codex, fifth century (assigned), with similar shading but less contrast between tall square and narrow, floating round letters.

Written in a now brownish ink. Front and back cannot be determined. Size of writing and spacing between lines is ample. As preserved, no accents or lectional signs, nor indications about the treatment of elision. No word or syllabic division nor any sign of correction, but a respectable copy in book form.

Word divisions have been introduced.

→Fr. 1

	.	.	.	.
[			]	φίης εμαθ[
[			]	φραγίσματα μοιρ. [
[			]	. . [.] . . . .
	.	.	.	.

1 e.g. [τῆς σο]φίης ἔμαθ[εν], second half of a pentameter? (If so, then 2 ought to be a hexameter, and 3 another pentameter.)

2 .[, horizontal base high in the letter, as omicron (or perhaps omega), not alpha. No doubt ε]φραγίσματα μοιρω[.

→Fr. 2

	.	.	.	.
[			]	. [.] . [
[			]	ελίοιο
[			]	φότερα
	.	.	.	.

2 Ἥ]ελίοιο: the Homeric form, similarly at Manetho 5.50 and often; at line-end: 1.110, 342, 437, 2.301, 4.153, 5.112.

→Fr. 3

	.	.	.	.
]	ηνη	καρκιν[		
]	θηλυ	και αρρ[		
]	διοσα	. . [		
]	ωστη[			
	.	.	.	.

- 1 ] , projecting foot or base at right, lambda or delta or best mu, i.e. *Μῆν ῥῆ* or *Μήνη*. At end: *Καρκύν*].  
 2 A prediction for both a masculine and feminine geniture.  
 3 . . [, δ or λ followed by something very round: epsilon, unless λθ. If Διδος (= Iuppiter), then the following alpha must be long, e.g. not ἀδε[λφ—.

↓Fr. 1

. . . . .

[                    ] . . [ . . ] . . [ . ] δ[  
                   [                    ] . . . . . οσευσχῆμ[ων?  
 [                    ] . δε κενοδορομεου[  
                   [                    ] εἰτ . . [ . . . ] . [

. . . . .

2 . oc: tail of ρ, or φ.

If the horizontal ink under the first two letter-traces in line 2 is the end of a paragraphos, then this is likely to be a pentameter, and we would have line beginnings.

3 κενοδορομεου[: a rare poetic term from astrology referring to the rising or setting of a sign without the accompaniment of another. Only once in Manetho 1.486 αἰεὶ δ' ἐν γενέθλῃσι κενοδορομέουσα Σελήνη. Here γενέθλῃσι, at any rate, did not precede; it is impossible to tell whether the remainder of the line was the same here, but the preceding and following line do not correspond with Manetho's.

↓Fr. 2

. . . . .

] . . . . [ . ] . . [  
 ]καπρο . [  
 ]πατρικα[

. . . . .

2 ]καπρο[: After omicron there is a vertical, followed by a diagonal descending to lower right (giving the impression of nu), but also definitely diagonal ink ascending to upper right, fully compatible with kappa, though (as often in the scribe's kappa) neither of the diagonals connect to the upright. Reading kappa, we could articulate e.g. -ι]κὰ πρὸ κ[ or προκ[: Manetho has several times προκοπή, and 6.200 προκυλίσασα in a hexameter—without κα preceding. But ]καπροκ[ yields nothing. The same sequence of traces can be interpreted as iota followed by a diamond-shaped phi (cf. → fr. 2.3). If so, κάπροι (e.g. φ[αγέμεν) may refer to a predicted fate of being devoured by wild beasts, as at Manetho 6.192–4:

καὶ δύνων Πυρόεις, ὁπότε' ἂν Κρόνος ὠρονομήσῃ,  
 σαρκοβόροις θηρσὶν παρέχει γεννώμενον ἄνδρα·  
 ῥῆ γὰρ ὅς κε καπρίοιο ὑπέστη λευκὸν ὀδόντα.

(The passage goes on to add rending by the claws of a panther or the teeth of a lion.) This is the only occurrence of κάπριος in Manetho (who never uses the less poetic καπρός).

3 πατρικὰ, 'inheritance', 'patrimony'? Or πατρὶ κα[ι?

↓Fr. 3

. . . . .

] . . . . . [

] α λ λ α . . . . . [

Obscured traces of two more lines

. . . . .

3-4 Letters are present, but fading of the ink and darkening of the papyrus and encrusted dirt have almost entirely obscured them.

D. OBBINK



### III. COMEDY

#### 4508. PROSE MENTIONING ARISTOPHANES

88/474(a)

Fr. 1 3.3 × 5 cm

Second century  
Plate XV

Four fragments of a roll containing a work of prose. There is a lower margin of 1.7 cm in fr. 1; fr. 3 preserves part of the intercolumnium on its right. A kollesis is visible near the right-hand edge of fr. 3. If the restorations proposed below for fr. 1.9–11 have any chance of being true, the original line length may be estimated at 14–17 letters, that is 3.6 cm; but this is perhaps unlikely, see 1.7–11 n. The writing is along the fibres. There is nothing on the back.

The hand, medium-sized and informal, is of the general type in which many commentaries and hypotheses were written. The letters do not always have the same *ductus*, and ligatures are often admitted.  $\pi$  has its right-hand leg curved,  $\epsilon$  is made in two movements, with the cap traced later,  $\nu$  appears either as a sweeping shallow curve on a long stem or v-shaped,  $\omega$  is flat-based. Some features, like the lop-sided triangular omicron and the broad sweeping top of upsilon, have parallels in a group of literary hands commonly ascribed to the later second century, see XXXIV 2683 introd. (LXIV 4405 is another fragment of the same manuscript; the hand is now assigned to the late second/early third century, but I see no reason to uphold the later terminus; cf. also M. W. Haslam, LVII 3878 introd.). But this hand does not have the highly stylised narrow  $\epsilon$ ,  $\theta$ ,  $\varsigma$ , or not consistently (straight-backed epsilon twice, but elsewhere broad and round). A date within the latter half of the second century seems likely.

The chief point of interest is the reference to Aristophanes'  $\textcircled{\Omega}\rho\alpha\iota$ . Only a few fragments of this play (fr. 577–89) have been transmitted through the indirect tradition. Its plot centred on the quarrel between the established and the new gods (for an analysis see J. Moreau, *Nouv. Clío* 6 (1954) 327 ff.). It is probable that shortly after the point where fr. 1 breaks off a quotation was given. What precedes the reference to  $\textcircled{\Omega}\rho\alpha\iota$  gives little clue as to its content.

The only lectional sign in evidence is a circumflex in fr. 4.2. Given that there must have been at least one verse of poetry cited in this work, and that circumflexes are more at home in a poetic text, we could think of a quotation from poetry.

The nature of the text is not clear. The content might lead us to think of a commentary, perhaps on a comic play. But there is more than one kind of prose that could include quotations, and didascalic material, if that is to be recognised in fr. 2, such as treatises on literary criticism, literary biographies, anecdotal works, etc. Ammonios' *Κωμωδοῦμενοι*, a work discussing various individuals satirised in Old Comedy, is no more than a possibility.

I am grateful to Professor W. Luppe for the suggestions quoted.

## Fr. 1

. . .  
 ]ολα[  
 ]νδ[  
 ]ςτ[  
 ]ζα[ . . . ]αρι[  
 5 ]ανοτ[ . . . ]ερι[  
 ]ςφυλακηςπι[                      ]ς φυλακῆς πι[  
 ]αριαδηςτων[                      X]αριάδης τῶν[ (or τῷ ν[  
 ]ωνκαλλιου[                      ]ων Καλλίου[  
 ]τοφανησε[ .                      Άρις]τοφάνης ἐν[  
 10 ]αραγειτασωρ[                      π]αράγει τὰς Ὠρ[ας  
 ]ουσαςπροστο[                      -]ούσας πρὸς το[  
 (foot)

4 ι[ , possibly top of descending oblique, but see note below                      8 ] , horizontal trace between the  
 elements of the first loop of ω: part of the crossbar of a letter such as τ?                      9 ] , small left-hand arc

## Fr. 2

. . .  
 ] . σευ[  
 ]τοφιλ[  
 ]νιδης[  
 ] . οα[ . . .  
 5 ] . . το[  
 ]εκρι[ .  
 ]ατ[  
 ] . κριν[ .  
 ]θεσι[  
 10 ] . . .[

## Fr. 3

. . .  
 ] . ελοι[  
 ]αιτι[ ] [  
 ] . ινω[  
 ] . υcia[  
 ]ωνι[  
 ]ενη[  
 ] . δια[  
 ]λλι[  
 ]ονυ[  
 . . .

## Fr. 4

. . .  
 ]co[  
 ]φάνδ[  
 ]δεδει[  
 ] . ρκαιπ[  
 ] . ικαλ[  
 . . .

Fr. 2    1 ] , lower part of ο?    ] , η, ν or left-hand part of π    4 ] , right-hand part of high  
 horizontal    ] , left-hand part of ν (?), then large ink smudge that has covered also the ensuing letter  
 5 ] . , linkstroke; ι or ρ with minute circlet    6 ] , upright joining descending oblique to top right (ν?)  
 8 ] , curved trace at two-thirds height, perhaps a link-stroke only    ] , curved back on edge    10 ] . . . ,  
 (all traces on the horizontal tear) top of upright; top of descending oblique; short high horizontal

Fr. 3 1 ], right-hand tip of horizontal at two-thirds height (linkstroke?) 3 ], lower part of descending oblique joining upright to right 4 ], descending oblique joining upright at foot (ν)  
 7 ], right-hand tip of high horizontal  
 Fr. 4 1 ], lower left-hand arc followed by long descender curved leftwards at foot (φ or ψ) 4 ], rising oblique trace at two-thirds height, perhaps only a link-stroke 5 ], lower part of descending oblique joining adjacent upright, link-stroke or part of α 1 ], low trace on edge

Fr. 1

4 The trace at the right-hand edge does not exclude c (upper left-hand corner), and in view of l. 9 one may think of some form of Ἀριε[τοφάνης. But α is also possible, and one may think of X]αριά[δ- (Luppe), see below 7 n.

5 πιθ]ανότ[ητα π]ερι[ is one possibility among many (also in 6 πι[θαν- might be considered).

6 φυλακῆς. The word is attested in too wide a range of meanings to cast any light on this passage; nor is it clear how any of the towns called Φυλακή would be relevant. Before it, τῆ]c is a possibility.

7 X]αριάδης. The identity of the person and the reason for which he is mentioned here are obscure. Does he relate to Kallias and/or the Aristophanic play? Or does he belong to a different part of the narration, where the broken lines 1-6 also belong? The name is attested in Euphro fr. 1.7 and Sosip. fr. 1.11; both come from third century comedies, and are monologues delivered by cooks. But it is hard to associate them with Kallias in the next line; date and status do not match. The name is not uncommon in classical Athens, cf. M. J. Osborne, S. Byrne, *A Lexicon of Greek Personal Names* ii s.v. It may be legitimate to think of a contemporary of Kallias. Some officials at the end of the fifth century bear this name, cf. *PA* s.v., and one may think of a topical reference in a comedy or of some sort of didascalic information.

It may be worth noting that there is an Athenian strategos named Χαροιάδης, cf. R. Develin, *Athenian Officials 684-321 B.C.* (1989) 450. He was killed in 427, so he was a contemporary of Kallias and Aristophanes. The itacistic mistake, ι for οι, cannot be ruled out, but cannot be proved.

8 ]ων. Perhaps to be taken with the των of the previous line, especially if the original line length was short, but see below 7-11 n. The possibility that it is the ending of a name and the ensuing genitive a patronymic may also be considered, but I am unable to propose any identification.

Καλλίου. According to a scholion on Luc. *Iov. trag.* 48, Aristophanes made mention of Kallias in *Horae* (= Ar. fr. 583). He is the same person as the one referred to in *Ran.* 428-30 and 501, Kallias son of Hipponikos (not to be confused with his paternal grandfather, also named Καλλίας Ἰππονίκου), whose reputation as a socialite and womaniser provided humorous material for Cratinus and possibly Eupolis. For this figure, cf. J. K. Davies, *Athenian Propertied Families 600-300 B.C.* (1971) 256 ff. and Dover's commentary ad locc.

The context of this reference to Kallias (cf. frs. 3.8, 4.5) is unclear. Although there is no evidence to the contrary, it does not seem likely that he was one of the characters of the play. Perhaps he only served for a comparison and/or as an example, in much the same manner as in *Ranae*. If so, we may think that the purpose of the passage adduced from *Horae* was to illustrate a point regarding Kallias.

9 ἐν Ὁ[ραϊς? The surviving trace allows ω. In commentaries references to an author's work were formulated by ἐν + dative or by the dative alone, with or without the article. But there can be no certainty about this articulation.

10 π]αράγει: 'introduces on the stage', 'represents', cf. LSJ s.v. IIIb. In this sense and construction it is not infrequently found in the scholia on dramatic authors, cf. a scholion on *Nu.* 534 (534a Holwerda) *Σοφοκλῆς ἐν Ἠλέκτρῳ δρᾶματι Ἰσμῆνην παράγει χοῶς ἐνεγκοῦσαν* etc., and *Σ<sup>B</sup>* on E. *Med.* 1386 *τὴν γὰρ Μῆδειαν παράγει πρὸς αὐτὸν εἰποῦσαν* (and a quotation follows).

The Ὁ[ραι composed the chorus of the play, cf. Moreau, loc. cit. 327 ff.

11 It is tempting to restore λεγ]ούσας (or εἰπ]ούσας) and τό]ν (or το[ύς); a character's name must have followed, and then a citation of the *Horae*'s words; for the construction λέγω πρὸς τινα see 4521 959 n. Of course πρὸς το[ may be the beginning of their quotation. But there are more possibilities, e.g. ἐνεγκ]ούσας, as in the first parallel above, etc.

7-11 Since the sense may run on directly from 10 to 11, it is tempting to assume a short line and restore:

X]αριάδης τῶν[ c. 4  
 ,ων Καλλίου [ὁ δ' Ἀρι-  
 c]τοφάνης ἐν Ὁ[ραϊc  
 10 π]αράγει τὰς Ὁρ[ας λε-  
 γ]ούcas πρὸς το[

That leaves very little space to restore a connection between Chariades and Kallias in 7–8. Similarly 5–6 might belong closely together. But I do not see how to restore this in detail; and if we look for Ἀριc[τοφάν- in 4, the original line must have been longer (unless what I take as τ in 5 is upsilon; in that case we get Ἀριc[τοφ]άνου[ς, the expected length, but υ is palaeographically difficult). It will be safer to assume that the lines were in fact longer. (Professor Luppe *exempli gratia* suggests restoring X]αριάδης τῶν [οἴκε]τῶν (or [δημο]τῶν) Καλλίου. [καὶ Ἀρι]c[τοφάνης κτλ., while in line 6 there would be room only for a form of πι[ctός, unless we restore φυλακῆς πί[θων. He remarks that in 7 there is no space for a connective particle, hence what comes before should be a lemma, and we are dealing with an *hypomnema*.)

## Fr. 2

1 Εὐπ[ολ- is one possibility.

3 Φιλῶ]νίδης, one of the producers of Aristophanes' plays, is an obvious, but not the sole, candidate; for names with this ending see *A Lexicon of Greek Personal Names* ii 493 f. It may not be unrelated to Φιλ[ in 2 and ]ωνι- in fr. 3.5. The other producer Kallistratos may have been named in fr. 3.8, 4.5.

6, 8 ]εκριν[ can be read in 6, ]εκρινε[ or -νο[ in 8. There may be some form of κρίνειν in both, or of ὑποκρίνεσθαι, if this passage is concerned with the production of the plays, cf. on 3. The *Vita* of Aristophanes seems to have Philonides and Aristophanes acting his own plays in roughly the same context: μηδὲν μὴν ὑποκρίνασθαι τινος τολμῶντος, δι' ἑαυτοῦ δ' Ἀριστοφάνης ὑπεκρίνατο (Test. 1.13 f. in *PCG* III.2). Professor Luppe thinks that, if we are dealing with a commentary, it could be that ]εκρινε[ (6) belongs to a lemma, and is picked up by ]εκρινε[ (8) in the exegesis.

9 ὑπό]θεσι[c/ν would fit a didascalic context.

## Fr. 3

4 Διο]γύcia is an easy guess.

8 Κα]λλι- one possibility, cf. 1.8, 4.5.

## Fr. 4

2 -]φᾶν. Perhaps an infinitive ending, such as, e.g., τρυφᾶν.

4 ] , ραιπ[. π]εραῖ (Πέραι or e.g. διαπέραι) cannot be confirmed.

5 Καλλ[ possible, cf. 1.8, 3.8; 2.3 n.

N. GONIS

4509. COMMENTARY ON AR. *VESPAE*

88/113(a)

Fr. 1 3.8 × 7.5 cm

Second century  
Plate XV

Five fragments from a commentary on Aristophanes' *Vespaë*; the most substantial (fr. 1) refers to vv. 36–41. Fr. 1 preserves a lower margin of 2.4 cm; 0.3 cm of the intercolumnium survives on the left of fr. 5. The writing is along the fibres. The backs of fr. 1 and 4 are blank, but those of fr. 2 and 3 carry cursive writing (from a land



register?); this might suggest that fr. 2 and 3 come from a different roll, but I see no other reason to think so.

The hand is semi-cursive, of the kind that is often called 'scholiastic'. Letters usually touch, and in certain cases are ligatured to each other. Note the irregularity of the *ductus* of some letters:  $\nu$  sometimes in the conventional shape but sometimes with the diagonal joining the right-hand hasta half way up, and  $\upsilon$ , usually v-shaped but once Y-shaped. Other remarkable letter forms include  $\epsilon$  with protruding mid-stroke separated from the curve, the semi-cursive  $\eta$ ,  $\kappa$  u-shaped,  $\pi$  with top and right-hand hasta in a single flow,  $\phi$  with very prolonged stem. The script may be assigned to the second century, preferably to the latter half. It shares certain significant features with Schubart, *PGB* 32b, a document of c. 200, and BGU V 1210 (*Gnomon of the Idios Logos*) of c. 170. The cursive hand on the back of fr. 2 and 3 can be placed in the first half of the third century.

Because of its fragmentary nature, the precise layout of the commentary cannot be established with certainty. Lemmata may consist of a series of verses (1.8–10), or a single verse (1.1?), or a phrase (1.7?); in 1.6 an individual word is picked out and glossed. The commentator is selective. Not every verse is represented (we pass straight from v. 36 to v. 38, it seems); and despite the long lemmata, not every word in them will have been annotated, as we can judge from l. 8, where  $\phi[\acute{\alpha}\lambda\lambda\alpha\iota\nu]$  is copied in the lemma although it must already have been explained at its first appearance in v. 35.

Lemmata often begin in mid-line. It seems that they were set off by a short blank space from the preceding comment (1.8) and probably from the ensuing exegesis too (see 1.6 n). Since the margin is lost, it is impossible to know whether they were further marked by *ekthesis* (as in e.g. XIX 2221) or by critical signs (*diplai*) or punctuation (*paragraphoi*); parallels show that such means of highlighting the quoted text were widely current, cf. K. McNamee, *Marginalia and Commentaries in Greek Literary papyri* (Diss. Duke 1977) 34 f.

No lectional signs are in evidence. There is one case of elision made tacitly (1.8). Abbreviation by suspension occurs twice (1.4, 8).

Although not much remains, verbal similarities allow a connection with the scholiastic tradition to be made. The wording of the comments on v. 36, contained in 1.2–6, has many affinities with the existing scholia. Furthermore, if the restoration suggested in 1.4–5 n. below holds true, it is notable that this commentary combines two notes which appear separately in the medieval scholia, each in a distinct family of manuscripts ( $\Sigma^R$  and  $\Sigma^V$ ); i.e. it testifies to a state of the exegesis before it was excerpted and dispersed. This general relationship comes as no surprise. Compare the very similar case in XI 1371, where the marginalia on *Nu.* 1–11 coincide with those of R and V in both content and wording, cf. K. Dover, *Aristophanes Frogs* 96.

We suspect that the commentators of the Roman period drew on earlier work mainly through the *variorum* commentaries of Didymos. We know of two names, Symmachos and Phaeinos, and of some others referred to simply as 'some others'. The

date of Phaeinos is uncertain; Symmachos, if he was cited by Herodian (1.319.28 f.), must have been active in the second century or earlier, not too distant from the date of our text. But of course there is no particular reason to attribute that text to either of them. (For literature on scholiastic activity regarding Aristophanes see J. Henderson, *Lysistrata* lvii n. 7.)

If the dating proposed is right, it seems that this is the oldest surviving commentary on a play of Aristophanes known from the medieval tradition. The other commentaries on Aristophanes which survive on papyrus are VI **856** (=Pack-Mertens 138) on *Acharnenses* (iii), PRain III 20 (=Pack-Mertens 146.1) on *Nubes* (v), PRain I 34 + PVind 29833C (=Pack-Mertens 149.2) on *Pax* (v), and two on lost comedies, XXXV **2737** (=Ar. fr. 590, i/ii) and PFlor II 112 (=Ar. fr. 591, ii/iii). On Aristophanic commentaries see McNamee, op. cit. 187 ff.

What survives does not suffice to justify a confident assessment of the scope and quality of this commentary. It seems to have been more extensive and elaborate (note in the comment on v.36) than **856**, which conveys only simple prosopographic and glossographic information. Whether it was as learned as **2737**, it is impossible to tell: in what we have the discussion is not very deep, but I doubt whether it could have gone any deeper on this particular passage.

With the exception of a mistake in v.39, the lemmata contribute nothing new towards the text of the play.

I am again indebted to Professor W. Luppe for his help with this text.

## Fr. 1

	]	...	[		
	]νε...	ρημε[	(36)	φωνῇ]ν	ἐμπεπρημέν[η ὕδς
	] κλεωνακακο[			τὸ]ν Κλέωνα κακο[	
	]παφλαγοαυτον[			] Παφλαγό(να) αὐτὸν [	
5	] λαζεινγνδε[			πα]φλάζειν. ἦν δὲ [	
	] ἐμπεφυσχημε[			] ἐμπεφυσχημέ[νης	
	] οντουννυπνιον[			] ον τοῦνύπνιον [	
	] μω ηθημιαραφ[	(39)		] μω ἡθ' ἡ μιαρα φ[άλλαιν'	
	]ονδημον[	(40)		βοει]ον δημόν [	
10	] ετα διιστα[	(41)		βοῦ]λεται διῆσταν[αι	
	(foot)				

1 ]...[, dots on line, probably feet of uprights      2 ε... , foot of ascending oblique followed by a lower arc at one-third height and another right-facing at lower right; lower part of upright, then another

strongly curved at the foot, together  $\eta$  or  $\pi$ ; lower part of left-hand curve; same as second .[, foot of upright curved to left 3 ], upright 4 ], curved back 5 ], speck at one-third height .[, upright 6 ], tip of upper curve, specks below (c?) 7 ], low horizontal trace curving upwards at the end (flattish lower curve?) .[, letter-foot on edge 8 ], right-hand part of  $\mu$  or  $\omega$  9 ], triangular apex 10 ], lower part of descending oblique a., top of upright .[, low trace on edge

Fr. 2	Fr. 3	Fr. 4	Fr. 5
. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
] . ai[ ] . [	] . [	] . ay[	] . [
] . ιϵ[[μι]]cv . [	] . μου . [	] . κατα[	] . πο . [
] . κολασαν[	] . κον[	] . κον[	] . λεπ[
] . ρταζουσ . [	] . ειν[	. . .	. . .] ε[
5 ] . νιους . . . [	] . οι[	. . .	. . .
] . ενο . [	. . .	. . .	. . .
] . μ[	. . .	. . .	. . .
. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .

Fr. 2 1 ], foot, gap, descending oblique joining upright at mid-height ( $\nu$ ?) .[, low traces (foot of upright?) 2 ], upper right-hand arc .[, left-hand oblique and apex of  $\lambda$  or  $\mu$  4 ], upright 5 . . . [ , top of  $\delta$ ,  $\lambda$ , (first half of)  $\mu$ , followed by shallow upper arc and high horizontal 6 ], foot of curve (or descending oblique curved at foot) .[, high dot 7 ], upright (?)

Fr. 3 1 ], traces compatible with low horizontal 2 ], foot of ascending oblique 5 ], right-hand part of top horizontal

Fr. 4 1 ], traces admitting long upright, as of  $\rho$  3 ], lower part of the tail of  $\alpha$ ?

Fr. 5 1 ], lower curve 2 ], curved back (c strongly suggested) 3 ], its right-hand leg shorter than usual; if not  $\pi$ ,  $\gamma$  joining upright or left-hand curve

#### Fr. 1

2 (Lemma, v. 36.) ἐμπεπρημέν[η.: ἐμπεπρημένην R Σ Luc.: ἐμπεπρημένης Γ (rightly): ἐμπεπρησμένην V: ἐμπεπρησμένης J Greg. The papyrus preserves the correct spelling, -ημεν- without sigma, but it is not certain which of the two participle endings it will have had; it may have had -ης, if the first visible trace in 6 belongs to the sigma of ἐμπεπρημένη]ς, see below 6 n.

3-6 carry the comments on 36, which refer to Aristophanes' handling of the figure of Kleon in *Equites*. Cross-references to other plays are common in the scholiastic tradition, and ancient commentaries are not an exception. Although no mention is made of any particular play in the scholia, it may be that ἐν (τοῖς) Ἰππεύει was written at some point in the papyrus, in much the same way as in 2737.

3 κακο[. Perhaps κακό[φωνος (Luppe), cf. Σ on *Eq.* 248: τοῦτο δὲ καὶ εἰς τὸ κακόφωνον αὐτοῦ (i.e. Κλέωνος). κακο[λογεῖ is another possibility, but I think it less likely.

4-5 Παφλαγό(να) αὐτὸν [ - - - πα]φλάζειν. Cf. Σ 34: καὶ Παφλαγόνα παρὰ τὸ παφλάζειν τῇ φωνῇ. It is likely that the wording of the commentary was not much different from that of the scholia, with a verb of saying after αὐτόν, such as ὀνομάζει, which is palaeographically possible (its first omicron suits the trace on the edge). Assuming a line of c. 40 letters, there would be more than enough room for e.g. αὐτὸν ὀ[νομάζει παρὰ τὸ τῇ φωνῇ πα]φλάζειν.

This etymology is also given in the scholion on *Eq.* 919 (919a Jones-Wilson), Eust. 360. 28, *et al.* Its occurrence in the commentary XXXV 2741 fr. 1B iii 19 f. (=Eup. Fr. 192. 135 f.) is noteworthy (common source?).

10 βού|λεται διῴσταν[αι].



## Fr. 2

I cannot associate what survives with anything in *Vespae*. Luppe suggests a possible reference to Aristophanes' troubles [κολασαν[ , l. 3) in connection with staging the *Babylonians* in the presence of the Athenian allies (τ]οῖς συμ[μάχοις?, l. 2) at the City Dionysia (ἐο]ρτάζουσι?, l. 4) in 426.

## Fr. 5

3 If π is correctly read, λἐπ[άς, which occurs at *V.* 105, is possible. But the other surviving letters fit no part of the surrounding text.

N. GONIS

## 4510–4521. ARISTOPHANES

This part contains all the remaining manuscripts of extant comedies of Aristophanes that have been identified in the collection of the Egypt Exploration Society. Six come from rolls, six from codices (one of them parchment). Most of them are to date the only ancient witnesses to the part of the plays they preserve. Published papyri of Aristophanes are listed by P. Mertens in M. S. Funghi (ed.), *ΟΔΟΙ ΔΙΣΤΗΣΙΟΣ. Le vie della ricerca* (1996) 335–43; add now PDuke inv. 643 (ed. L. P. Smith, *APF* 42 (1996) 155 ff.; cf. W. Luppe, *APF* 43 (1997) 7 f.).

It has often been noticed that the majority of the papyri of Aristophanes derive from the Byzantine period. This group presents six pieces from the fourth, fifth and/or the sixth century, but the other six come from the second and third centuries AD. Insomuch as only five Aristophanic papyri from before the fourth century have been published hitherto, these figures may appear remarkable, but they are in line with the earlier known data concerning Oxyrhynchus: excluding commentaries, Mertens lists four Oxyrhynchite papyri from no later than the third century, and five from the fifth century.

*Text.* These papyri offer a number of interesting readings.

(i) Among readings which are new, a few confirm modern conjectures.

- |                    |  |
|--------------------|--|
| <i>Acharnenses</i> | 60 πρυτα]νευητ[ε <b>4510</b> with Meineke (but probably false) |
|                    | 171 διοση]μ[ι]α 'c[τι <b>4510</b> with Elmsley                 |
|                    | 298 μο]ι εν <b>4510</b> with Hermann                           |
|                    | 323 τ αρα <b>4510</b> with Elmsley                             |
|                    | 325 δηξομ' αρ' υμας <b>4510</b> with Bentley                   |
| <i>Aves</i>        | 1328 βραδυσ ε[στι τις <b>4515</b> with Bentley                 |
|                    | 1669 εις <b>4516</b> with van Leeuwen                          |
|                    | φρατερας <b>4516</b> with Dindorf                              |
|                    | 1671 αικειαν <b>4516</b> with Lenting                          |
|                    | 1672 καταστησας <b>4516</b> with Hirschig                      |

Some others would at least merit consideration.

- |               |                            |
|---------------|----------------------------|
| <i>Vespae</i> | 1081 ξυν δορει <b>4513</b> |
|               | 1102 πολλαχη <b>4513</b>   |

<i>Pax</i>	1240 τι δ' αλλ [ <b>4514</b>
<i>Aves</i>	1665 εγγυτατα <b>4516</b>
<i>Plutus</i>	641 αρα πραττε[ται/–ε <b>4520</b>

The remainder can be dismissed as corruptions or careless slips (the second reading is that generally accepted by editors).

<i>Acharnenses</i>	330 ερξας <b>4510</b> : εἰρξας
	332 θ' <b>4510</b> : δ'
<i>Vespae</i>	1078 ωφελησαν]τες <b>4513</b> : ὠφελῆσαν ἐν
	1081 ξυ[νδραμοντ]ες <b>4513</b> : ἐκδραμόντες
	1083 παν <b>4513</b> : παρ'
	1086 μ]αχεσα[σθαι <b>4513</b> : μάχεσθαι
	1095 ]ευ μελλει[ <b>4513</b> : εὖ λέξειν ἐμέλλομεν

<i>Pax</i>	1238 ιθι νυν <b>4514</b> : ἴθι δῆ
------------	-----------------------------------

<i>Aves</i>	1327 τουτω[ν <b>4515</b> : τοῦτον
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<i>Ranae</i>	604 δεινον <b>4517</b> : δεῖν
--------------	-------------------------------

	642 ημας <b>4517</b> : νῶ
--	---------------------------

<i>Plutus</i>	648 om. <b>4520</b>
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	967 παραν]ομα φιλτατε <b>4521</b> : παράνομ' ὦ φίλτατε
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(for 715 and the extra line between 967–9 see notes *ad loc.*).

(ii) More often, the agreement of the papyri with the medieval tradition, or part of it, may be significant. Thus in a number of places they confirm the antiquity of a number of disputed readings. This of course does not suffice to turn the scales in favour of the transmitted readings; once again we see that some degree of corruption must be posited early in the transmission of the text. As regards the issue of the *Variationsfreiheiten*, the new evidence shows it to be present in the Roman period.

<i>Acharnenses</i>	291 επειτα <b>4510</b> : εἶτα edd.
	293 ουκ ιστε <b>4510</b> : ἡκούσατ' edd.
	301 κατατεμω <b>4510</b> : τεμῶ edd.
	302 ποτ' ες <b>4510</b> : πότ' sive ἐς del. edd.
<i>Pax</i>	1201 πεντηκοντα δραχμω]ν εμπολω <b>4514</b> : πεντήκοντα δραχμῶν susp. edd.
	1240 τι δ' <b>4514</b> : τί edd.
<i>Aves</i>	1325 πτερων <b>4515</b> : πτερύγων edd.
	1358 γα[ <b>4515</b> : τᾶρα edd.
<i>Ranae</i>	592 lacunam post ἀνανεάζειν fortasse habet <b>4517</b>
	597 'σται om. <b>4517</b>
	645 ου μα Δι': ουδ' εμοι δοκεις <b>4517</b> : alii alia

In a few cases the reading of the papyrus recurs not in the earlier manuscripts but in some of the *recentiores*. This tends to confirm that such late readings, right or wrong, should not automatically be regarded as Byzantine conjectures, but may represent an older tradition of which, by accident, we have no earlier evidence.

<i>Vespae</i>	108 υ[ποπεπλασμενος <b>4512</b> with J: ἀναπεπλασμένος rell. 1085 εωσα[μεσθα <b>4513</b> with <i>An. Ox.</i> I 446.4–5 (–μεθα): ἀπεωσάμεσθα Γ <sup>1</sup> J: ἐπανσάμεσθα R: ἐσωζόμεσθα VΓ <sup>2</sup>
<i>Aves</i>	1670 τουτ' <b>4516</b> with E; δητ' ΓUq: δητα τ' RVA
<i>Plutus</i>	712 το κ[ιβωτ]ι[o]ν <b>4520</b> with O <sub>4</sub> W <sub>4</sub> : τό γε κιβώτιον rell.

In places where the medieval tradition is divided the new texts predictably do not side systematically with any particular manuscript or family. In any case, each Aristophanic play has a different textual tradition, and should be treated separately from the rest. Accordingly, statistical data of coincidences with this or that branch of the tradition would be of no use. An evaluation of the textual importance of each papyrus can be found in the individual introductions. A few more general issues will be addressed here.

The first assessment of the papyri of Aristophanes was attempted by Grenfell at a time when only twelve papyri of nine known comedies had been published: 'On the whole the papyri of Aristophanes are not very accurate and are more remarkable for their agreements with the ordinary text where the correctness of it has been suspected than for new readings. ... Quite a number of small corrections ... mainly on metrical grounds, are confirmed' (*JHS* 39 (1919) 22). Eighty years later, and with the number of Aristophanes papyri increased fourfold, the gist of Grenfell's conclusions does not require essential alteration. The papyri of Aristophanes have not yielded impressive returns in terms of new readings.

In what was the first comprehensive investigation of the bearing of the papyri on the Aristophanic text Pasquali argued that in the fifth century the number of the variants began to decrease, but he did not doubt that a part of them goes back to the period before the first critical edition of Aristophanes (see *Storia della tradizione e critica del testo* (1952<sup>2</sup>) 199). Of the papyri available to Pasquali all but two dated from the fifth century or later. In the light of the publication of more papyri from earlier centuries, his views need to be modified. The fifth century can no longer be considered as a watershed in the history of the text of Aristophanes: second century papyri attest no more variants than Byzantine papyri. If a reduction of the number of variants in circulation started at a certain stage, this cannot have taken place later than the first century AD.

The second of Pasquali's statements is not incompatible with a hypothesis recently formulated by Dover: 'one, and only one, copy of *Frogs* (containing major errors) was available to the first generation of scholars at Alexandria ... all subsequent copies of the play whatsoever were exclusively derived from that copy' (*Aristophanes Frogs* (1993) 86). So far as I am aware, this theory has not been tested for other plays, but, if correct, its repercussions for Aristophanic textual criticism are obvious. The new evidence does not invalidate Dover's hypothesis; in fact, if the lyric parts suspected of corruption are corrupt, his theory is reinforced.

There is no comprehensive history of the text of Aristophanes, but individual plays have been served well by the editions that have appeared over the last three decades

(cited below in the introductions to the editions of the papyri of each play). With regard to general issues the most useful contributions are by T. Gelzer, *RE* Suppl. XII (1970) 1548 ff., and Dover, *Text*. A brief summary of earlier views on the history of the text and the question of the archetype is given in G. B. Alberti, *Problemi di critica testuale* (1979) 20 f. (the chapter on Aristophanes in H. Hunger (ed.), *Geschichte der Textüberlieferung* I (1961) is now out of date). I should also mention M. Pohlenz, *NAWG* (1952) 95 ff., for some interesting views on the early history of the text, and, for the Triklinian recension, N. G. Wilson, *CQ* NS 12 (1962) 32 ff.

In the introduction to each play I indicate the sources from which the readings of the medieval manuscripts are taken. I have myself collated R and V from the facsimiles, and L from the original.

*Colometry*. Four of the papyri (**4510**, **4513**, **4516**, **4517**) offer lyric parts. It comes as no surprise that their colometry, despite occasional deviations, is virtually identical with that transmitted by the medieval manuscripts, and accords with the metrical analyses found in the *scholia vetera*. (**4513** is a case apart; the eccentric line-division does not seem to have its origin in any metrical principles, but probably in a certain view about the general *mise en page*.) This has been repeatedly observed with regard to the papyri of Aristophanes, see most recently Dover, *Aristophanes Frogs* 90, and L. P. E. Parker, *The Songs of Aristophanes* (1997) 98. It is an easy assumption that there has been only one colometry for the lyrics of Aristophanes from Roman times onwards,<sup>1</sup> that customarily attributed to Heliodorus (cf. below **4510** introd.). But, as Parker has pointed out, it is perhaps simplistic to maintain that the Alexandrians ‘worked on a sound text, that their colometry was reverently preserved for the rest of antiquity, to be described by Heliodorus, and to survive, in however mutilated a form, in the papyri and medieval MSS’ (op. cit. 106).

*Annotation*. **4510**, **4514**, **4519**, **4520**, and **4521** bear marginalia, in all cases but one brief. They mostly contain glossographic and factual information. Of special significance are **4510** and **4521**, which provide the earliest examples of annotated papyri of Aristophanes (second century). **4521** makes it possible to trace affinities between these marginalia and the medieval scholia back to the second century AD; up until now, discussion has focused on texts from the fourth century onwards, cf. G. Zuntz, *Die Aristophanes-Scholien der Papyri* (1975<sup>2</sup>) 28 f. On Aristophanic exegesis in the papyri one may also consult the brief account by H. Maehler in *Entretiens Hardt* 40 (1994) 124 ff.

I am grateful to Dr. R. A. Coles, Prof. E. W. Handley, Dr. J. R. Rea, Mr. N. G. Wilson, and especially Prof. P. J. Parsons, my supervisor, for advice and criticism.

<sup>1</sup> It has been argued that this is also the case with the tragedians, see T. Fleming, E. C. Kopff, *SIFC* 85 (1992) 760, echoing G. Zuntz, *An Inquiry into the Transmission of the Plays of Euripides* (1975) 31 ff. and W. S. Barrett, *Euripides Hippolytos* (1964) 84 ff. However, studies of the issue in two plays of Euripides, J. M. Bremer, D. J. Mastronarde, *The Textual Tradition of Euripides’ Phoinissai* (1982) 151 ff., and J. Diggle, *The Textual Tradition of Euripides’ Orestes* (1991) 131 ff., have shown a lack of unanimity in some parts of the tradition.



In addition to the usual abbreviations, the following shortened references have been used:

Dover, *Text*=K. J. Dover, 'Explorations in the History of the Text of Aristophanes', *The Greeks and their Legacy* (1988) 223 ff.

GBEBP=G. Cavallo, H. Maehler, *Greek Bookhands of the Early Byzantine Period*=BICS Suppl. 47 (1987)

GLH=C. H. Roberts, *Greek Literary Hands 350 B.C.-A.D. 400* (1956)

GMAW<sup>2</sup>=E. G. Turner, *Greek Manuscripts of the Ancient World* (2nd edition revised and enlarged. Edited by P. J. Parsons.)=BICS Suppl. 46 (1987)

McNamee, MC=K. McNamee, *Marginalia and Commentaries in Greek Literary Papyri* (Diss. Duke Univ. 1977)

Turner, *Typology*=E. G. Turner, *The Typology of the Early Codex* (1977)

**4510.** ARISTOPHANES, *ACHARNENSES* 55-60, 165-80, 234-40, 278-83, 291-308, 316-35, 345-7, 380-5, 417-9, 506-9, 539-42, 655-8, 695-704, 822-5

88/332

Fr. 7 9.4 × 9.4 cm

Second century

Twenty three fragments of a roll brought together on the basis of the handwriting. Most of them can be identified as containing portions of the *Acharnenses*; a few scraps (fr. 16-23) remain unplaced, and some may not belong to the same manuscript. The extant upper margin measures 1.4 cm in fr. 10; fr. 7 and 12 preserve a lower margin of 1.4 cm. Of the intercolumnium 0.8 cm survives in fr. 5. The writing is along the fibres; there are scanty ink traces on the backs of one or two pieces, not certainly writing.

The reconstruction of the original dimensions of the roll is not easy. 291 (probably), 417, 821 (possibly) come from column tops; 335, 542, 704 (possibly) are at column feet. The 45 lines between 291 (fr. 6) and 335 (fr. 7) could have been contained in (i) 1 column or (ii) 2 columns of 22/23 lines. 417 (fr. 10) to 542 (fr. 12) is 126 verses of modern text (but note that 457 is *extra metrum* and 490-5 is lyric); one may think of 3 columns of 42 verses, but also 5 × 24/25 or 6 × 21. 542 (fr. 12) to 704 (fr. 14) has too many uncertainties over lyric to be useful.

The text is written in a small rounded hand, neat, but not properly formal. Only the stems of  $\phi$  and  $\psi$  violate the overall bilinear impression. Finials (most frequently blobs, but also left-facing serifs and right-facing hooks) are attached to the feet and tops of most uprights; fine horizontals contrast with thickish uprights and obliques. Notable letter-forms include:  $\epsilon$  and  $c$  with their top curves often added separately, the latter also tending to fall over;  $v$  with a sometimes concave stem;  $\psi$  with its arms forming a large V. This kind of hand is usually assigned to the second century. It shares many common features with PSI IX 1091 (Norsa, *Scrittura letteraria* Tav. 19c), assigned to the i/ii century, but the latter has a more formal appearance and is probably earlier than **4510**. Also comparable are XXIV **2388** (ii), and PBodmer XXVII (ii).

Diacritical marks have been used fairly frequently, and are probably the responsibility of the scribe of the main text. There is a trace of a *paragraphos* (384–5) and a *dicolon* (346), and we may suppose that they were regularly used for signalling speaker changes (the *paragraphos* in 384–5 separates dialogue from lyric); in all probability there is also a *nota personae* in 385. Elision is marked by apostrophes six times (296, 302, 325, 332, 333, 335), but is made tacitly twice (323, 331), while in two other cases (292, 325) it is uncertain whether it was marked or not. Prodelision (59, 171, 330) is effected, but not signalled. A rough breathing is used to distinguish the relative pronoun *oŭc* from the word-ending *oŭc* which precedes (327). *Diaereses* (inorganic) often stand over initial *ι* and *υ*. Iota adscript is twice added in the dative singular (317, 704), and omitted twice (170 and 172, both times in the same word and not at word-end). There are scanty remains of cursive writing, apparently annotation, in top and right-hand margins. Since no side margins survive in most fragments, it is impossible to guess the extent of the annotation.

This is the oldest manuscript of the play to appear. The text offered is interesting. It is free from certain errors present in all later mss., substantiates some modern corrections (171, 298, 323, 325), but also yields three new variants which cannot be upheld (60, 330, 332). As regards some notoriously suspect readings (all in lyric passages), it confirms the antiquity of the transmitted text. This is true of the Berlin codex too, but 4510 is at least three centuries earlier. Such an agreement in error may be thought to imply that the second century text of the play did not essentially diverge from that of the later mss. in any of these disputed points. When the text in its corrupt form replaced the original in all papyri circulating in the first centuries AD cannot be ascertained. I am not sure how much weight can be attached to the metrical scholion on 285 ff., according to which the chorus responds to Dikaiopolis with a series of paeonic cola. In the text transmitted by this papyrus, as well as the medieval mss., paeonic cola are not always recognisable, and some passages are plainly unmetrical. It might be thought that the exemplar which served as a basis for the scholion was free of error. The metrical analyses preserved in the scholia are commonly believed to go back to Heliodorus, a metrician of the early Imperial age; could it be that Heliodorus used a copy with a text more or less different from the present? But the scholion contains no information about its source; and, as Parker has recently argued, 'it would be wrong to assume that all the *Σ vet.* were compiled from the work of a single metrician' (*The Songs of Aristophanes* 97).

Frr. 5, 6, 8 and 14 preserve lyric parts. Only the middle parts of the verses survive, but, if my reconstructions hold, it may be urged that the arrangement of the verses in the papyrus generally tallies with the metrical analyses of the scholia, R and most of the more recent mss. Spacing suggests that indentation (at varying levels) was employed.

The only textual overlap with a previously published papyrus is between fr. 15 and BKT IX 105; there are no points of divergence.

An evaluation of the history of the text of the play is given by E. Cary in *HSCP* 18 (1907) 157 ff. [=Cary]. Elliott in his edition offers a detailed report of mss. readings (except for L and Vv17, which became known only later). I have often made use of Cary's and Sommerstein's *sigla* denoting hyparchetypes; *a*, *c*, *q*, *j*, and *e* stand for the hyparchetypes of ATE, CVp3, BVP2HLVv17, *qc* and the agreement of  $\Gamma^2E^2$  respectively.

## Fr. 1

55     .     .     .     .  
       περιο]ψ[ε]ζθ[ε  
           τη]ν εκκ[λησιαν  
           ημι]ν ηθε[λε  
           κρεμα]σαι τας ας[πιδας  
           Απολ]λω γω με[ν  
 60     πρυτα]νευητ[ε  
       .     .     .     .

58 τας ας[πιδας: so codd.: τὴν ἀσπίδα *Suda* (κ 371).

60 πρυτα]νευητ[ε: πρυτανεύετε codd. Meineke printed πρυτανεύητε, but there is no way of telling whether this is an emendation or simply a 'clerical error' (Rogers), since there is no record of this change in his *adnotatio critica*. Whichever the case, πρυτανεύετε (aorist) is preferable, as Dikaiopolis seems to refer to an action due to take place at that very moment, and not repeatedly (present), whenever an assembly is held. Cf. also Müller, who defends the aorist on the strength of *Av.* 440 and *Thesm.* 269.

## Frr. 2 + 3

165     .     .     .     .  
       ]κα[. [β]αλ[ε]ιτε  
           ]μη[ πρ]οσε[ι  
           ταυ]τῃ περιε[ιδεθ  
           τ]ῇ πατρ[ιδι  
           α]παγορε[υω  
 170     ]Θραξι π[ε]ρι  
       διοση]μ[ι]α c[τι  
           Θρ]ακα[ς  
           πρ]υτ[ανεις λυο]υσι τ[ην  
                   μυττω]τον οc[ον

175 Λακεδαιμον]ος γαρ Α[μφιθεος  
 μηπ]ω γει[  
 εκ]φν[γειν  
 δευ]ρο[  
 ωσφ]ρ. [ντο  
 180 γ]ερ[οντες  
 . . . .

165 ]κα. [, β]αλ[ειτε: οὐ καταβαλεῖτε codd. plerique: οὐκ ἀποβαλεῖτε *a*. The traces after the first alpha (a high horizontal with a medial trace below, faintly suggesting an upright) suit either tau or pi. καταβαλεῖτε is supported by *Pax* 1124, and gives better sense (Müller). I suppose that οὐκ ἀποβαλεῖτε derived from the original οὐ καταβαλεῖτε by a graphic confusion in the minuscule, and thus think it unlikely that the papyrus had ἀποβαλεῖτε.

167 περι[ιδεθ': so codd. plerique: περὶ ἰδεθ' *R*.

171 διοση]μ[ι]α c[τι: διοσημί' ἔστι codd. plerique (-τή- all.): διοσημία ἔστι *Suda* (δ 1205). The papyrus confirms Elmsley's correction, which is required by usage, cf. Kühner-Blass, *Grammatik* I 243 (cf. also *Pax* 873, *Av.* 639, etc.).

178 δευ]ρο[ι: δεῦρό σοι *R*: σοι δεῦρο *ac*: σοι μὲν δεῦρο (or -ρ') *q*. Spacing suggests that the papyrus had the same reading as *R*, which is correct. The corruption that we find in *ac* occurred by transposition, and Triklinios tried to cure it by changing word-order.

179 ωσφ]ρ. [ντο: ὠσφροντο codd.: ὠσφρώντο Hesychius. What is visible in the papyrus, the lower part of a circle, allows ]ρω[ , as well as ]ρο[. ὠσφράσθαι is attested in texts of the imperial period, cf. Schmid, *Atticismus* II 32, but it cannot have been used by Aristophanes. (Athenaeus transmits it in Antiph. fr. 145.6 (emended by Elmsley), and Priscian in Eupol. fr. 7.)

## Fr. 4

. . . .  
 ζητ]ειν[  
 235 ]γην[  
 β]αλλ[ων  
 ] [   
 ηκο]νσα[τε  
 αυτο]ς εστ]ιν  
 240 ]θυς[ων  
 . . . .

237 Mss. give εὐφημεῖτε εὐφημεῖτε, usually in eisthesis. Spacing suggests that if the double εὐφημεῖτε was centred on 236, it would have started after the right-hand break.



## Fr. 5

	]. ν α...[	εωθεν ειρηνης ροφηςεις τρυβλ]ιον
	] κρεμνεται: ε[	η δ ασπις εν τωι φεισάλωι] κρεμνεται
280	] το εστιν ουτος .[	ουτος αυ] τος εστιν ουτος
	] λεβαλλεβαλλε [	βαλλε β] αλλε βαλλε βαλλε
	] μιaron [	παιε παιε το] ν μιaron
	] . . . . .[	ου βαλεις ου β] αλεις

*Colometry.* (Here as elsewhere the articulated transcript aims at presenting an approximate picture of the original layout of the left-hand part of the column, as well as the colon divisions. The supplements derive from Coulon.) In 280–3 the division of the papyrus is identical with that of R. No ancient metrical scholia survive at this point.

278 mrg. What remains may be part of a comment on τρύβλιον, which is glossed in the various lexica and the scholia—but not in the scholia on 278. However, none of the known glosses on τρύβλιον begins with α. The traces could be reconciled with ἀντι, which (in the form ἀντὶ τοῦ, abbreviated or not) often introduces glosses, cf. 4521 694 n. But I would not exclude that this continues a note that started in the previous line; note that in the Byzantine scholia κραιπάλη in 277 is annotated.

279 κρεμνεται: so codd. plerique: κρεμασθήσεται R, a grammatical modernisation, which is also unmetrical.

279 mrg. The marginal note may explain φεισάλω, which is glossed in the commentary VI 856 78 (on *Ach.* 668), the scholia, and the lexica. *Σ vet.* on 668 (and *Suda* [φ 240]) give φείσαλοι γὰρ οἱ σπινθήρες. It might be that the initial sigma of the note was the first letter of σπινθήρι (or σπινθήρ: glosses are often in the nominative). However, the sense here is figurative, and the literal meaning would not be of much help.

281 β]αλλε. The dotted λ seems to have been crossed out by a cancelling stroke. If a correction was made, I cannot see how it could be justified, as the two other imperatives that follow have kept their second lambdas. A dot distinguishable below is probably stray ink.

## Fr. 6

	]. [	
	] α. ν[	
	]	
291	] σεπει . . [	σπεισαμενο]ς επειτα [δυνασαι
	] . . π. βλε. [	νυν προς ε]μ αποβλεπ[ειν
	] ουκιστ. [	αντι δ' ων εσπεισαμην] ουκ ιστ[ε
	] εναπ. [	σου γ ακους . μ] εν απο[λει κατα
295	] . κλιθο. [	σε χωσομεν το]ις λιθοι[ς
	] υςητ' α[	μηδαμως πριν αν γ' ακο] υςητ' α[λλ'
	] . μα. [	ουκ ανασχησ]ομαι [μηδε
	] ι . . λ . . [	λεγε μο]ι συ λογ[ον
	] μεμε. σηκας. [	ως] μεμεισηκα σε [Κλεω

300	]σετιμαλλον[	νο]ς ετι μαλλον [ον ε
	] . . `τα´.εμ.τ. .ζ[	γω] κατατεμω τοις[ιν ιππευ
	]π.τ'εσκαττυ[	ει] ποτ' ες καττυ[ματα
	] . . ντοσουκ[	σου δ' εγω λογους λε]γοντος ουκ [
	]ωσιναλλ. [	οστις εσπειω Λακ]ωσιν αλλα [
305	]κω.ασεκ[	ωγαθοι τους μεν Λα]κωνας εκ[ποδων
	]ωρακο[	των δ' εμων σπονδ]ων ακο[υσατ'
	] . ι . . ν[ ] . [	πως δε γ' αν καλως λεγ]οις αν [ει]π[ερ
	] . [ ]ς. [	οισιν ουτε βωμος ου]τ[ε πι]ςτ[ις

mrg. There does not seem to be any (main) text written above 291, since, however colometrised, some letters from 290 would have been present. I suppose the notes were written in the top margin. Their import escapes me.

291 *επειτα*: so codd. plerique: *εἴτα q. ἔπειτα* is metrically problematic; *ἔπειτα* could well replace *εἴτα*, especially in post-classical Greek. *εἴτα* looks like the result of a Byzantine emendation (Cary 182).

291–2 *Σ* 284a speaks of a sequence of paeonic cola. Indeed, correspondence with the antode, as well as consistency in the chorus' practice of replying to Dikaiopolis in the same metrical scheme, requires a sequence of four cretics or paeons. The text of the antistrophic 340 is unassailable: *ὥς τὸδε τὸ λαρκίδιον οὐ προδώσω ποτέ* (2p2cr). But in mss. other than *q* the scansion of 291–2 causes difficulties. In 292 the presence of *νῦν* in the mss. (it is omitted in *q* for purposes of restoring the metre) disturbs the metre. *νῦν* is also contextually unnecessary (so also *Σ vet.* on 300); it has been thought to be an early interpolation, due to someone who took *ἔπειτα* (or *εἴτα*) as temporal. If we read *εἴτα* and remove *νῦν*, the metrical correspondence is restored. Although *νῦν* does not survive in our fragment, considerations of space suggest that it was present in the papyrus. The last sigma of *σπεισάμενος* is vertically aligned with the mu of *εμ*. R and most other mss. divide after *δύνασαι*, an attempt to match word- with colon-end. If this division was followed in the papyrus, and assuming that 291 and 292 were aligned, the spacing works out most satisfactorily if 292 started with *νῦν*. With a division after *δυνα* there is no space for *νῦν*, but then the mu of *εμ* would have appeared further to the left.

293 *ουκ ιστε*: so *AI*: *οὐκ ἴσατ'* R: *οὐκ ἴσσετ'* *Γ<sup>SE</sup>Ec*: *οὐκ ἴστε γ'* *q*. The papyrus shows that *ιστε* was current in the Roman period. The reading of *AI* gives good sense, but stands in hiatus with the following *ἀλλ'*; in *AI* 293 runs *ἀντί δ' ὧν ἐσπεισάμην οὐκ ἴστε. ἀλλ' ἀκούσατε*. The other variants cure the anomaly; but *ἴσατ'* is not a possible form, at least in Attic, and in *ἴστε τ'* the particle makes no sense. *ἴστε γ'* has met with some approval, cf. B. Zimmermann, *Untersuchungen zur Form und dramatischen Technik der aristophanischen Komödien* i (1984) 39 f. Of course the last two readings may themselves be conjectures to avoid the hiatus (Cary 182; Coulon, *Essai sur la méthode de la critique conjecturale appliquée au texte d'Aristophane* (1933) 48), but it would be hazardous to rule out the possibility that they are substantive variants. Most editors have adopted more drastic emendations; the most important are Kock's *ἡκούσατ'* and Hamaker's *ἀκούσατ'*. W. G. Clark, *J. Phil.* 18 (1880) 12 tried to solve the problem by articulating *οὐκ ἴστέ'* (question); this use of the plural verbal adjective in an impersonal construction is attested in Aristophanes, cf. *Nu.* 727 *οὐ μαλθακιστέ' ἀλλὰ περικαλυπτέα* (also *Ach.* 394, *Lys.* 122, and elsewhere), but the question *οὐκ ἴστέ'* seems contextually less appropriate than the statement *οὐκ ἴστε*. Professor Handley suggests reading ...*οὐκ ἴστε' τᾷλλ' ἀκούσατε*. 'R, with its extra α, perhaps incorporates a clarification of *ICTETALLAKOYCATE*, or it is just a confusion; otherwise the τ' is dropped [in *AI*]; read as if τ(ε) [in *Γ<sup>SE</sup>Ec*]; read as γ(ε) [in *q*]'.

294 *ἀκούομεν* codd. plerique: *ἀκούομαι B: ἀκούομ' q*. Editors print Elmsley's *ἀκούωμεν*. The majority reading is unmetrical, assuming that we need to restore five cretics, and also contrary to common usage, as

deliberative questions can only be expressed by the subjunctive. The other two readings are metrical emendations (Cary 182).

298 μο]ι *cu*: *cú* μοι R: *cù* om. *ac*: δὴ *cù* *q*. The papyrus has the correct word order, as restored by Hermann, *De Metris* 191. The reading of *q* is a metrical restoration (Cary 181).

299 μεμείκηκα: l. μεμίσκηκα. A common phonetic spelling.

301-2 (301) κατατεμω: so codd. S<sup>λ</sup> (κ 817 and 1129) Σ<sup>REG</sup>.

τοῖς[: τοῖσιν codd. plerique: τοῖς *q*S. τοῖς has been considered as a metrical correction (Cary 182).

(302) ποτ': so codd. plerique: ποτε *q* (πό- B): om. S. The reading of *q* is again a metrical change (Cary 182).

ε: so codd. plerique: om. *q*. The omission was probably made for metrical purposes.

Mss. other than *q* read 300-2 as follows: (...) δν ἐγὼ | κατατεμῶ τοῖσιν ἱππεύ|ει ποτ' ἐς καττύματα. This is unmetrical, although the sense is clear. ἐγὼ, κατατεμῶ, τοῖσιν, ποτ' and ἐς have been much disputed, but none of the emendations proposed is entirely satisfactory (the most recent discussions are by Zimmermann, op. cit. 40, and Parker 130 ff.). The papyrus shows that the main elements of the transmitted text were already in place in the second century. It attests κατατεμῶ, τοῖς or τοῖσιν, and ποτ' ἐς; it may or may not have had ἐγὼ: the spacing is indecisive, but since ἐγὼ is transmitted by all mss., with which the papyrus shares all the questionable readings, I see no reason why its presence here should be precluded.

308 (οὔτε βωμος) οὐ]τ[ε πι]ετ[ις: so codd. plerique: οὔτε πίςτις οὔτε βωμὸς *a*.

## Fr. 7

. . . . .  
 ] . [ . . . ] . [  
 τ]ωι πληθ[ει  
 ]κεφαλην[  
 ]λιθων ω δ[ημοται  
 320 ]τουτον ες φοι[νικίδα  
 θυμα]λωψ επεζεεεν[  
 ε]τεον ωχαρνη[ιδαι  
 δει]να τ αρα πεισομαι  
 μ]ηδαμωσ ωχαρνικο[ι  
 325 ]δηξομ' αρ υμας εγω  
 τ]ων φιλων τους φιλ[τατους  
 ομηρ]ους δυε απο[ς]φαξ[ω] λα[βων  
 το]υτ' απ[ει]λει τουπος α[νδρες  
 Αχαρνι]κοισιν ημιγ μων εχε[ι  
 330 παροντ]ων ενδον ερξας η πι[ι  
 ]βο[υ]λεσθ εγω γαρ τουτονι δ[ιαφθερω  
 ]θ' υμων τ[αχ' ο]στις ανθρακω[ν  
 απω]λομεσθ' [ο λαρ]κος δημοτη[ς  
 δ]ρασης ο [με]λ[λ]εισ μηδαμω[ς  
 335 αποκ]τενω κεκ[ρα]χθ' εγω γαρ ου[κ  
 (foot)

316 The traces are too exiguous to allow a match with the received text.

318 κεφαλην: so codd. Earlier editors felt uneasy with the 'dactyl' in the fifth foot of the trochaic tetrameter, and regarded the text as corrupt. But this metrical phenomenon is not unparalleled (but the secure parallels are very few), as was pointed out first by U. v. Wilamowitz, *Isyllos von Epidauros* 7 ff. On the issue see E. W. Handley, *Dyskolos* 71 (with bibliography); MacDowell on *Wasps* 407, 496; Sandbach on M. *Samia* 731; M. L. West, *Greek Metre* 92.

319 ω: so codd.: οἱ *Suda* (κ 682, φ 788).

320 εἰ: so codd.: εἰς *Suda* (ibid.). The agreement between all representatives of the tradition both here and in 302 may suggest that εἰ was the commonest reading in antiquity. Modern views recommend the use of εἰς, except if εἰ is metrically required (4516 1669 n.). Elmsley and most subsequent editors read εἰς.

321 ἐπέξεσεν: so codd. all.: ἐπέξεσεν *TEVP*3: ἐπέζησεν *q*. ἐπέξεσεν and ἐπέζησεν are wrong and apparently derivative.

323 τ ἀρα: γ' ἄρα codd. plerique: χ' ἄρα *AE*<sup>1</sup> wrongly (apparently γ misread as χ). The papyrus seems to substantiate Elmsley's emendation to τᾶρα (τοῖ ἄρα), which has been adopted by most editors. J. C. B. Lowe, *Glotta* 51 (1973) 34 ff., esp. 36 and 40 ff., defended the mss. reading, pointing out that γ' ἄρα is exclamatory, and contextually more appropriate than τᾶρα. The majority of the manuscripts offer gamma instead of tau not only here, but also in most other emended passages. Tau and gamma could be easily confused in the majuscule. There are two more papyri bearing text emended by Elmsley on the same grounds: *BKT* V.2 18, offering γ' ἀρ[ at *Ran.* 252, where the mss. give γὰρ (R) or γ' ἄρα (AK) or τᾶρα (V), and 4515, with *An.* 1358. This papyrus attests that the confusion had already started in antiquity.

The scribe wrote no elision mark. I would think that the omission is accidental rather than an indication that ταρα was taken to be a case of crasis.

325 δῆξομ' ἀρ υμας: δῆξομαι ἄρ' ὑμᾶς *Vb1*: δῆξομαι γὰρ ὑμᾶς *ac(j)*: δῆξομαί γ' ἄρ' ὑμᾶς *eq*: δείξομ' ὑμᾶς ἄρ' R. The papyrus presents essentially the correct reading, which was first restored by Bentley. In comparison with the other mss. the reading of *Vb1* is the closest to the truth, but is probably a conjecture. (*Vb1* is a copy of *Γ*, which has δῆξομαι γὰρ. *Vb1*'s reading cannot be due to a mere omission of γ'; some of *Vb1*'s points of divergence from *Γ* are independent conjectures.) The papyrus writes an elision mark, implying δῆξομ' ἄρ'. Most editors print Dindorf's δῆξομαῖρ', a crasis, wrongly as it seems, for we have an elision, cf. Kühner-Blass, *Grammatik* I 237 f., West, *Greek Metre* 10.

329 ημιν: so codd. plerique: ὑμῖν *E*: ὑμῶν *Ald. E* and *Ald.* are wrong.

330 ἐρξας: εἶρξας *j*: εἶρξας codd. *rell.* S *Σ* *edd.* It is unlikely that the reading offered by the papyrus is genuine. ἐρξας is an epic-ionic form, and not one that Aristophanes would have used. If it is not a mere slip, it might be taken to reflect the archaistic tendencies of the scribe (or his knowledge of Homer).

332 θ': δ' codd. The new reading is probably inferior to that already known. Although there are examples of single τε connecting sentences, see J. D. Denniston, *Greek Particles*<sup>2</sup> 497 ff., δέ is better represented in this position as a connective, and is also supported by *Lys.* 1114. Of course, τε is frequently found as a *varia lectio* for δέ (and vice-versa) in the manuscripts. Compare *Ach.* 814, where the Berlin codex offers τὸθ', while the tradition unanimously has τὸ δ'; also *E. Or.* 1627, where one papyrus and several *recentiores* give δ' instead of (the correct) θ' transmitted by all the *vetustiores*. (I do not think that this is a case of the not particularly frequent phenomenon of θ written in place of δ; for the interchange in Egyptian Greek see Gignac, *Grammar* i 97.)

333 απω]λομεσθ': so codd. plerique: ἀπολόμεθ' R: ἀπολόμεσθ' *q*. The minority readings, whether poetic forms or misspellings, are unmetrical.

## Fr. 8

344 345	. . ] . [ ] φασιν [ ] . ε [	αλλα μη μοι προ]φασιν αλλα καταθου το βελ]ος
------------	---	---



346	]α [	ωσ οδε γε ρειστος αμ]α
	].: [	τηι τροφηι γίγνεται]ι
347	]. . [	

*Colometry.* The divisions in the papyrus are the same as in R. But 345 is evidently inset relative to the next three lines; the reason escapes me.

344 Too little remains to match the traces (only two horizontal traces at line-level) with the transmitted text. If 344 was given in two lines, as in R, the traces should belong to the last word of the verse, for which some mss. give *σειόμενον* and R *σεσεισμένον*.

347 I am not able to restore any text here, since there is no way of determining the extent of the indentation of the preceding lines, and what remains from 347 is indecisive. If the indentation is approximately on the same scale as in R, that is seven letters in, here we must have one or two of the last letters of *ἀναείει*.

## Fr. 9

380	δ]ιε[βαλλε κακ[υκλοβορει απω[λομην νυν ο[υν ενσκε[υασασθαι
385	]. [

384 This verse, repeated as 436, has been suspected, and Valckenaer deleted it. Most editors have preserved 384 and bracketed 436. H. W. Miller, *AJP* 65 (1944) 29 f. defends the authenticity of both verses.

385 The traces do not match *τι*, the first two letters of 385, and best suit *χ*. After that no trace of ink is visible on the papyrus; this might be due to abrasion, but it is more likely that nothing at all was written. Presumably *χ* represents *X(ορός)*, where *χ<sup>ο</sup>* might have been expected, as in *χ<sup>ο</sup>κατ<sup>υ</sup>* for the chorus of Satyrs in IX 1074 (S. *Ichneutae*), cf. *GMAW*<sup>2</sup> 13 and n. 63. The layout of the papyrus will then have been similar to that in R, with *paragraphos*, marking the end of the speech, *nota personae* (X), and *τι* indented. (I owe the clarification of this point to Professor Handley).

## Fr. 10

## Top

417	α]υτη[ ]πο[ια ]δυς[ποτμος
-----	---------------------------------

## Fr. 11

506

506	συμμ]αχο[ι περιεπτιςμε]νοι αστ]ων ς]φο[δρα
-----	---

507 At the end of the line a short descending stroke: accident?

509 *ς]φο[δρα*: so codd. plerique: *πάνυ Γ<sup>1</sup>* (*ςφόδρα Γ<sup>2</sup>*), an intrusive gloss.

## Fr. 12

· · ·  
 540 εντεν]θε[ν 655  
 ερει] τις ου χρ[ην  
 ]ι Λακεδα[ιμονιων  
 απε]δοτο φην[αc  
 (foot)

## Fr. 13

· · ·  
 δικαι]α [  
 ε]ιναι·  
 εξαπατυλ]λω[ν  
 διδ]ακω[ν  
 · · ·

540 χρ[ην: so ac: ἄχρην qVb1: ἐχρῆν RΓ<sup>2</sup>Σ<sup>E</sup>. ἐχρῆν produces hiatus, and possibly derives from the second ἐχρῆν in the same verse. On χρῆν/ἐχρῆν cf. Barrett on E. *Hip.* 1072–3.

541 ]ι: εἰ q: εἰ καὶ rell. contra metrum. Taking the necessary supplements ἐρεῖ] τις (540) and ἀπέ]δοτο (542) as the standard, the initial lacuna of 541 has room for φερ' εἰ, but not for φερ' εἰ κα]ι. The reading of q has been considered a fortunate metrical emendation (Cary 182), but the agreement of q with the papyrus may now point to a manuscript as its likely source. At any event, there is nothing in the scholia to suggest a deliberate intervention.

## Fr. 14

· · ·  
 695 ] . . [  
 ]δρω[ ανδρικον ι]δρω[τα δη και πολυν  
 ] . θωνι . [ ανδρ αγαθον οντα Μαρ]αθωνι π[ερι την πολιν  
 ]μενεδ . [ ειτα Μαραθωνι οτ η]μεν εδι[ωκομεν  
 ]δρωνπ . [ νυν δ υπ αν]δρων πο[νη  
 700 ] . διωκο . [ ρων cφοδρ]α διωκομ[εθα  
 ] . cκο . [ κατα προcαλ]ιcκομ[εθα  
 ]α . . [ . ] . [ προς ταδε τις] αντ[ε]ρ[ει Μαρ]ψιαc  
 ]ν . λι . . [ τωι γαρ εικος ανδρα κυφο]ν ηλικο[ν Θουκυδιδη  
 ] . . cκυ[ εξολεcθαι cυμπλακεντα τ]ηι Cκυ[θων ερημιαι  
 (foot?)

*Colometry.* Σ *vet.* 665a regards the strophe as composed of eleven paeonic cola, of which τὰ μὲν πρῶτα γ' τρίρρυθμα (i.e. 692–4 in the antistrophe), τὸ δὲ δ' (= 695) δίρρυθμον, εἴτα ἐν ἐκθέσει τετράρρυθμα δύο (= 697–8), καὶ ἐν εἰκθέσει τρία μὲν δίρρυθμα (= 699–701), ἐν δὲ τρίρρυθμον (= 702). There is no mention of the fifth colon (= 696), which made Thiemann emend γ' to δ', and δ' to ε'. R and other mss. have the fourth colon δίρρυθμον and the fifth τρίρρυθμον. Reasonably, 'instead of altering two transmitted numbers to get the result we do, why not suppose omission of καὶ τὸ ε' after τὰ μὲν πρῶτα γ'?' This gives the result preserved in R and elsewhere.' (EWH). In our papyrus considerations of space permit an arrangement exactly as in R. Likewise, spacing suggests that 697 and 698 were ἐν ἐκθέσει, and in 699–702, though only parts of the middle of the lines survive, the divisions were probably identical with those described in the scholia and exemplified by R (and other mss.).

695 The remaining traces, a long descender (?) followed by scattered specks, are too exiguous to allow a match with the transmitted text.

698 (στ') η]μεν: so codd. plerique: ἐβάλλομεν c, probably intrusive annotation.

702 Surface abraded after α; text not assured.

702–3 The space between the two verses is slightly wider than elsewhere in the fragment. If this was



Fr. 18 1 ] δ, lower right-hand arc (o or ω) 2 ], upright and at the level of its top traces in the same horizontal alignment, allowing a top horizontal (τ or π) 3 ], right-hand tip of a thickish high horizontal (high dot after θ; apostrophe? diaeresis, if the trace over the adjacent upright is another? accident?) 4 ], upright, horizontal trace joining at half-height to right, left-hand tip of upper arc joining at top to right 5 ] . . [ , top of descending oblique; top of upright

## Fr. 19

. . .  
] . [ ] . [ .  
] κ α . [ .  
] . ν ς [ .  
] . [ ] . . [ .  
. . .

## Fr. 20

. . .  
] . . [ .  
] ν δ . [ .  
] ς . [ .  
] ς . [ .  
. . .

## Fr. 21

. . .  
] α μ ω [ .  
. . .

Fr. 19 1 ] . [ , lower arc, speck at upper right (o?) 2 ] . [ , trace at line-level, probably foot of rising oblique or corner of edge of α 3 ] . [ , top of descending oblique at two-thirds height 4 ] . [ , front and base of curved letter (o or ω; θ excluded since no trace of crossbar visible) 5 ] . [ , high speck 6 ] . [ , right-hand curve intersected by crossbar (apparently θ); top of α, δ, λ

Fr. 20 1 ] . [ , lower part of α?; foot of left-hand curve 2 ] . [ , specks on edge (same alignment) 3 ] . [ , left-hand tip of high horizontal 4 ] . [ , curved back and base

## Fr. 21

This scrap could be part of 296, 334, 590, or 1050. But ] μ ω [ is also possible.

## Fr. 22

. . .  
] . ρ δ ε χ [ .  
]  
] ν μ ε ν [ .  
. . .

## Fr. 23

. . .  
] φ . . [ .  
] . γ α [ .  
. . .

Fr. 23 1 ] . [ , two uprights linked with top horizontal (ιπ or ιτ) 2 ] . [ , speck at two-thirds height

## Fr. 22

mrg. The first word might be κκ] ῥ δ (α) (= κκ ῥ ο δ α); after that possibly a form of ἔχ ω. For what it is worth, we may try placing the fragment in 164 (πορθούμενος), which is in a context with references to κκ ῥ ο δ α and with scholia mentioning κκ ῥ ο δ α ἔχοντες (Σ 163a has ἔχων φορτίον κκ ῥ ο δων).



Fr. 23

1 Neither  $\phi\iota\tau$  nor  $\phi\iota\pi$  occur in the *Acharnenses*.

N. GONIS

4511. ARISTOPHANES, *EQUITES* 736–46

106/44(b)

2.3 × 5.7 cm

Third century

A small fragment with the beginnings of 10 verses. No margins have been preserved. The writing is along the fibres. Back blank.

The script is a rather informal, medium-sized specimen of the 'Severe Style', slanting somewhat to the right. I would place it in affinity with *GLH* 21a and assign it to not earlier than the first half of the third century. The fairly pronounced contrast between thick and thin strokes and the presence of ornamental hooks on the upper extremities of  $\delta$ ,  $\iota$ ,  $\lambda$ ,  $\nu$ ,  $\psi$  suggest that it belongs to the mature period of the style; on the so called 'tipo ornato' of this style see M. S. Funghi, G. Messeri Savorelli, *Analecta Papyrologica* 1 (1989) 37 ff. (list of examples on p. 41 n. 12). All the lectional signs seem to be by the original scribe; there are *paragraphoi*, signalling speaker change, a rough breathing, and an acute accent (both in 745).

*Equites* is the play of which most papyri have come down to us (eight in Pack<sup>3</sup>), but no other papyrus includes these lines. The new piece contributes nothing useful to the text, whose history has been traced by D. M. Jones, *CQ* NS 2 (1952) 171 ff.; 5 (1955) 39 ff.; and M. Pohlenz, *NAWG* (1952) 95 ff.

736	<p>αλ[λ  ομοιο[ς  τους μ[εν  αυτων[</p>
740	<p>και κυ[τοτομοις  <u>ευ γαρ π[οιω</u>  ο τι τ[ων  πλευ[ς]α[ς</p>
744	<p>εγω δε π[εριπατων  <u>εψοντ[ος</u>  και μ[ην</p>

744 δε: om. V, to the detriment of the metre.

745 ἐψοντος. The reason for the placing of diacritics above ε in the papyrus is not easy to deduce. The accent may serve to distinguish the Attic form (see Herodian 1.456, 2.260, and especially in *An. Ox.* 257 f.) from the contracted form ἐψοδντος (parts of ἐψέω are transmitted occasionally even in writers of the fifth and fourth centuries, see Kühner-Blass, *Grammatik* ii 435, although they are often distinguished only by their accent). As regards the rough breathing, it is possible that some uncertainty was felt in antiquity about the correct aspiration. I have not found evidence of this dispute elsewhere. But note that R writes ἐψόντος (*sic*).

N. GONIS

#### 4512–4513. ARISTOPHANES, *VESPAE*

Two manuscripts of the *Vespae* have been identified among the unpublished holdings of the Egypt Exploration Society. One is from a roll, the other from a parchment codex. The text presented by the new pieces is not extant in either of the two papyri of the play that have been published before. The commentary **4509** with lemmata from verses 36–41 constitutes a further ancient testimony to the text of the *Vespae*.

D. M. MacDowell offers a short sketch of the history of the text on pp. 30 ff. of his edition (1971); see also H. J. Newiger, *Gnomon* 55 (1983) 392 with further literature. For the readings of the manuscripts I have used the collations of E. Cary, *HSCP* 30 (1919) 1 ff., and MacDowell's apparatus. The sigla are those of MacDowell.

#### 4512. ARISTOPHANES, *VESPAE* 96–116

37 4B.105/F(1)c

7 × 11.3 cm

Third century

The head of a column from a roll, with an upper margin preserved to 1.4 cm. The writing is parallel with the fibres. Back blank.

Verse 96 is a column top, and the column contained at least 21 verses. If the play began at the top of a column, vv. 1–95 could have occupied (i) 4 columns at an average of 24 verses/col., or (ii) 3 columns at an average of 32 verses, or (iii) 2 columns of c. 48 verses. On the basis that the first 15 verses of the surviving column measure 7.3 cm in height, column-height could be restored as (i) c. 11.7, or (ii) c. 15.6, or (iii) c. 23.4 cm. Allowing 6 cm more for the upper and lower margins together, roll-height would measure at least (i) c. 17.7 cm, or (ii) c. 21.6 cm, or (iii) c. 29.4 cm. (i) may be dismissed, as there is no example of a roll of this small format from the third century (for the issue see the discussion in **4521** introd.). There is no secure way of choosing between (ii) and (iii). Rolls most often range from 25 to 32 cm in height (cf. W. A. Johnson, *CP* 88 (1993) 47), and this may favour (iii). If (ii) holds true, approximately 48 columns would have been needed to contain the play, if the line arrangement did not differ from the medieval tradition. The column to column width in the trimeter parts might have averaged 11 cm (9 + 2), which would give c. 5.3 m of roll to contain the play. In the case of (iii), the figures would be c. 32 columns and c. 3.5 m of roll.

The papyrus is written in a smallish, slanting hand of the 'Severe Style', assignable to the first half of the third century. The apostrophe between the two taus in 107 in fact favours a third century date (cf. *GMAW*<sup>2</sup> p. 11 n. 50). The general effect may be

comparable with LII 3659 (iii c.), which is somewhat more rapid and more partial to obliques; compare also XLII 3008 (iii c.), which is again more rapid. XXXIX 2888 (second half of ii c.) is also similar, though here angularity is more pronounced and mu is different. The cross-stroke of ν tends to the horizontal; ψ has the form of a cross. Descenders end in little curls to the left, a feature frequently found among representatives of the 'Severe Style' in its mature phase.

*Apostrophes*, apparently supplied by the original copyist, signal elision, but not consistently (neglected in 107); in 103 a patch of damage on the papyrus leaves it uncertain whether there was originally an apostrophe. Diaereses (inorganic) are used once over initial ι (97) and twice over initial ν (102, 108). No other lectional signs are in evidence. Punctuation by spacing seems to have been used in 112 (see the note below). Iota adscript is correctly placed where required.

The papyrus shows no textual novelties. With the exception of 108 the text is not different from that of most recent editions.

## Top

- ω]ςπερ λιβανωτον ε[πιτιθειε  
 και νη Δι' ην ιδηι γε π[ου  
 ν]ιον Πυριλαμπους[  
 ι]ων παρεγραψε πλη[σιον  
 100 το]ν αλεκτρωνα[  
 ο]ψ' εξεγειρειν αυτο[ν  
 πα]ρα των ὑπευθυν[ων  
 ευθ]υς δ απο δορπης[το]υ[  
 κα]πειτ' εκεις' ελθων π[ροκαθευδει  
 105 ωσπε]ρ λεπας προσεχομ[ενος  
 υπο δ]υσκολιας δ' απασι τ[ιμων  
 ωσπ]ερ μελιτ' τ η βομβυλ[ιος  
 υπο τ]οις ονυξι κηρο[ν] ὑ[ποπεπλασμενος  
 ψηφ]ων δε δεισας μη δ[ε]ηθειη  
 110 ιν εχ]οι δικαζειν αιγια[λον  
                   ]γουθετουμεν[ος  
                   δικαζε]ι το[υ]τον ο[υν  
                   ]ησαντες ως[  
                   τ]ην νοσον β[αρεως  
 115 ]λογοις παρ[αμυθουμενος  
                   αυτο]ν μη φο[ρειν  
                   . . .

(From the top margin a faint line descends through  $\pi$  of  $\omega\zeta\pi\epsilon\rho$  over four lines to  $\nu$  of  $\iota\omega\nu$ ; apparently a stray penstroke.)

97  $\eta\nu$ : so codd. plerique:  $\delta\nu$  J, a banalisation.

98  $\nu\iota\omega\nu$ : so RV:  $\tau\delta\nu$  rell. Spacing would permit either reading, but the first trace, the top of a tall upright, clearly indicates iota.  $\tau\delta\nu$  was thought to be unmetrical, as it gives a choriamb in the first metron ( $\Pi\nu$ — is scanned short). A choriamb does sometimes substitute for the first metron of the trimeter, but this phenomenon is peculiar to tragedy, mainly with intractable proper names (and later in the mimiambs of Herondas). It occurs only once in comedy, *Pax* 663, but there in imitation of tragic diction (another example is *V.* 902, but the passage is usually emended). On the issue see V. Schmidt, *Sprachliche Untersuchungen zu Herondas* (1968) 96 ff.

99  $\iota\omega\nu$ : so RVJ:  $\iota\delta\omega\nu$  B.  $\iota\omega\nu$  seems to conform better to the line of the left-hand margin, as established from the verses above and below. Apparently  $\iota\delta\omega\nu$  was influenced by  $\iota\delta\eta\iota$  in 97.

$\pi\alpha\rho\epsilon\gamma\rho\alpha\psi\epsilon$ : R has  $\pi\alpha\rho\acute{\epsilon}\gamma\rho\alpha\psi\epsilon\nu$ , a trivial variant.

101  $\epsilon\zeta\epsilon\gamma\epsilon\iota\rho\epsilon\iota\nu$ : so RV:  $\acute{\epsilon}\gamma\epsilon\iota\rho\epsilon\iota\nu$  J, which does not scan.

102  $\pi\alpha\rho\alpha\tau\omega\nu$ : so codd. plerique:  $\pi\alpha\rho'\alpha\upsilon\tau\omega\nu$  V, which is unmetrical and makes no sense.

103  $\delta$ : om. J, probably an accidental omission.

The papyrus is abraded after  $\delta$ , and it is not clear whether there was originally an elision mark.

$\delta\omicron\rho\pi\eta\varsigma\tau\omicron\nu$ :  $\delta\omicron\rho\pi\iota\varsigma\tau\omicron\upsilon$  V in error.

107  $\mu\epsilon\lambda\iota\tau'\tau$ . That the scribe placed the apostrophe between the two taus may have led him to leave the elision unmarked.

108  $\psi[\pi\omicron\pi\epsilon\pi\lambda\alpha\varsigma\mu\epsilon\nu\omicron\varsigma$ : so J:  $\acute{\alpha}\nu\alpha\pi\epsilon\pi\lambda\alpha\varsigma\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\omicron\varsigma$  rell. What remains from upsilon is not conclusive, but the diaeresis above points to either  $\iota$  or  $\upsilon$ , and iota is palaeographically impossible. The coincidence of J with the papyrus is interesting; it may indicate an ancient source behind those readings of J not found in other mss. J is sometimes alone in offering good readings not otherwise transmitted (see MacDowell p. 31; but note that the value attached to J has been contested on more than one occasion, see Newiger, *Gnomon* 55 (1983) 392). Nevertheless, it is hard to say that  $\acute{\upsilon}\pi\omicron\pi\epsilon\pi\lambda\alpha\varsigma\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\omicron\varsigma$  was what Aristophanes wrote.  $\acute{\alpha}\nu\alpha\pi\epsilon\pi\lambda\alpha\varsigma\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\omicron\varsigma$ , which editors generally prefer, is not exactly paralleled, but  $\acute{\upsilon}\pi\omicron\pi\epsilon\pi\lambda\alpha\varsigma\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\omicron\varsigma$  is a compound not attested in classical Greek (MacDowell). One may entertain the suspicion that  $\acute{\upsilon}\pi\omicron$  at the beginning of v. 106 prompted  $\acute{\upsilon}\pi\omicron\pi\epsilon\pi\lambda\alpha\varsigma\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\omicron\varsigma$ . But there can be nothing like certainty.

109  $\delta\epsilon\iota\varsigma\alpha\varsigma$ : so V:  $\delta\acute{\eta}\varsigma\alpha\varsigma$  rell., which is absurd. It may have arisen from  $\acute{\epsilon}\nu\delta\acute{\eta}\varsigma\alpha\nu\tau\epsilon\varsigma$  in v. 113; but it could also be a phonetic or even a graphic error.

110  $\epsilon\chi\iota\upsilon$ : so RSVB:  $\acute{\epsilon}\chi\eta$  JP in error (see MacDowell).

112 A space of 2 mm has been left blank between what I take to be the top of  $\iota$  and  $\tau$ : apparently punctuation, to indicate a pause in the speech (cf. *GMAW*<sup>2</sup> p. 8).

113  $\eta\chi\alpha\nu\tau\epsilon\varsigma$ :  $\acute{\epsilon}\nu\delta\acute{\eta}\varsigma\alpha\nu\tau\epsilon\varsigma$  RV:  $\acute{\epsilon}\gamma\kappa\lambda\epsilon\acute{\iota}\alpha\nu\tau\epsilon\varsigma$  JBP. The first letter is damaged, but the traces suit  $\eta$  rather than  $\epsilon\iota$ . The papyrus may thus be thought to support the reading of RV, which is the *lectio difficilior*;  $\acute{\epsilon}\gamma\kappa\lambda\epsilon\acute{\iota}\alpha\nu\tau\epsilon\varsigma$  may be an intrusive gloss (MacDowell). Some editors print  $\acute{\epsilon}\gamma\kappa\lambda\acute{\eta}\chi\alpha\nu\tau\epsilon\varsigma$ . The epigraphic evidence shows that this spelling was indeed in circulation in Athens down to the earlier fourth century (see L. Threatte, *The Grammar of Attic Inscriptions* I 368 ff.), but the ancient grammarians claim that  $\kappa\lambda\epsilon\acute{\iota}\epsilon\iota\nu$  was the form employed by the comedians, while  $\kappa\lambda\acute{\eta}\epsilon\iota\nu$  was admitted only in paratragic passages (see Coulon I, introd. p. xxix and n. 3).

N. GONIS

### 4513. ARISTOPHANES, VESPAE 1066–1108

67 6B.15/J(1)

Frr. 3–7 6.6 × 10 cm

Fifth century

Eight fragments of a leaf of a parchment codex; frr. 3, 4, 5, 6 and 7 touch, but each only at a single point. This must have been a handsome manuscript, but the present remnants have suffered much and are extremely brittle. In many places the parchment has turned dark, especially on the hair side, while a couple of reddish stains complete the



overall smudged appearance. Nevertheless, much the greater part of the text is clearly visible, written in a metallic ink now turned dark brown. No margins survive.

There were 31 lines to the page; the written height is calculable at 18.3 cm. No line survives in its entirety; this and the absence of margins would make any reconstruction of the original format of the page largely hypothetical. A rough estimate of the width of 1077, which should be the longest verse of the piece, yields a figure of c. 15.3 cm. Allowing for a possible margin of c. 5 cm on all sides, the dimensions of the codex would be about 20.5 × 23.5 cm, bringing it into class V of parchment codices (20/17 × 25/21), as described in Turner, *Typology* 27.

The hand is a specimen of the 'sloping pointed majuscule'; it falls into its first type (GBEBP p. 4), whose state of perfection is typified by the hands responsible for the *Freer Gospels* (= GBEBP 15a, assigned to iv/v by Cavallo—Maehler). Our parchment seems to be somewhat later, and a date not earlier than the beginning of the fifth century may be considered; GBEBP 17b (later v) is very similar. Shading, 'found in some examples of "sloping majuscule" from the later v century onwards' (GBEBP p. 42), is evident throughout. Ornamentation takes the form of finials, chiefly smallish blobs, on the top curves of ε and c, the ends of the horizontals of γ and τ, and the tips of the prongs of υ. Notable also are the slightly slanting δ, 'a type which is not attested before the late v century and does not become frequent until the vi century' (GBEBP p. 90); κ broken in two halves; ξ in a single sequence of five movements; φ with elliptical loop; and the oblique profile of the feet of most uprights.

Iota adscript is written in the only place which requires it (1079). Apostrophes accompany elisions (1078, 1083, 1097, 1100), but there is one instance of tacit elision (1083) and another of *scriptio plena* (1106). There is no other lectional sign in evidence.

All verses contained on the leaf are represented, but many metrical cola normally counted as single verses appear split into two lines. It is not unreasonable to suppose that the same arrangement was followed also in other parts of the play, such as e.g. the lengthy anapaests that preceded. It is thus not possible to calculate precisely the number of the pages that the play would have covered. At any rate, in a format of 31 lines to a page, the whole of the play would have taken up no less than 50 pages, and at least 34 pages would have come before the present one.

The eccentricity just described does not rest on any metrical principle. Similarly, reasons of space seem to be ruled out, for we find verses of equal or even greater length than those divided written normally in a single line. Cf. e.g. 1077 (40 letters) written in one line, while 1079 (37 letters) occupies two (26 + 11); also 1106 (34 letters, one line) and the preceding 1105 (35 letters in two—23 + 12). It must be noted that all the lines containing the second part of a split verse are uniformly indented in relation to the preceding (and the following) longer line; the indentation must have been 5–6 letters' space, that is the same as the indentation of the lyrics. It is also worth noticing that there is a difference of division between epirrhema and antepirrhema. I suppose that this arrangement was effected with a certain aesthetic intention, perhaps for the right-hand edge of the column to be as straight as possible. (Views about the *mise en page*

played an important role in the fortunes of lyric passages during the transmission, cf. J. Irigoin, *RÉG* 75 (1962) 61 ff.)

The colometry of the lyric parts is virtually identical with that of R and V (for an exception see 1095 n.), and the ode as preserved responds with the antode. In this codex only the first three (1091-3), the sixth (1095a) and the last three (1068-70 = 1099-1101) cola appear to conform to a metrical pattern. The arrangement of the remaining cola seems to be based on an effort to match colon-end with word-end rather than on metre. Although there are no metrical *scholia vetera* available, we may surmise that the Alexandrians produced a sequence of trochaic dimeters, but this division pattern gradually deteriorated to what we find now in this and the later codices. The supposedly Alexandrian colometry has not found much favour in modern times. (Most recently Parker, *The Songs of Aristophanes* 246 ff. opts for a different analysis; contrast Zimmermann, *Untersuchungen* ii 212 ff., iii 31 f.)

The parchment offers six readings and a line arrangement not attested elsewhere. The amount of novelty is remarkable, but it would be bold to conclude that **4513** represents a branch of the tradition which has not survived in any medieval manuscript. I suppose all aberrations could be attributed to scribal carelessness and individual whim; with the exception of the new variant in 1102, all the other unique readings could be more or less easily dismissed as corrupt.

In the transcript  $\perp$  and  $\lrcorner$  are used for letters visible on an old photograph, but due to disintegration of some edges no longer extant.

## Flesh side

1066	λειψαν]ων[	
	ρωμη]ν	
1067	]ιν ως εγω[	
	νομι]ζω	
	]κρειττον η π[ολλων	(5)
	κικιννο]υς [ν]εα[νιων	
1070	]υπρωκτιαν[	
	τ]ην εμην ιδ[ων	
	]μεσον διεσφηκ[ωμενον	
	ηπινοι]α της εγκεν[τριδος	(10)
	κα]ν αμους[ος	
1075	προσες]τιν το[υτο	
	]εγγεν[εις	
	ανδρικωτα]τον γενος και π[λειςτα τ]ηνδε[	
	ωφελησαν]τες εν μαχαισιν [ηνικ η]λθ' ο β[αρβαρος	(15)

- 1079 καπνω]ι τυφων απας[αν τ]ην πολιν[  
]πυρπολω[ν]  
1080 ]μων μ[ενοι]ων προς βιαν τα[ν  
θρ]ηνια . [  
1081 ευθε]ως γ[α]ρ ξυ[νδραμοντ]ες ξυν δορει ξ[υν  
αςπιδι  
1082 εμ]αχομε[ς]θ' αυτοιςι θυμον [οξιν]ην πεπω[κοτες  
1083 ]ανηρ παν ανδρ' υπ οργης[  
χελυν]ην εσθιων  
1084 τ]ων τοξευμ[ατω]ν ουκ[  
το]ν ουρα[νον]  
1085 ]εωσα[μεσθα ξυ]ν θεοι[ς  
1086 ]ημων [πριν μ]αχεσ[α]σθαι  
στ]ρατον δ[ιεπτα]το[  
1087 ]α θυννα[ζοντε]ς ε[ις  
θυλακο]υς (20)

Hair side

- εφευ]γο[ν  
τ]ουμ[ενοι  
π]αρα τοι[ς  
γυν ετι  
1090 Α]ττικου κα[λεισθαι  
δ]ρικωτερον (5)  
1091 ]η τοθ' ως[τε  
και κατεσ[τρεψαμην  
]εναντιους π[λεων  
ου γαρ ην[ (10)  
1095 ] ευ μελλει[  
ς]υκοφαν[τησειν  
φρ]οντις[  
εσοι]τ' αρις[τος  
τοιγαρ]ουν πολλας πολ[εις  
1Μηδω]ν ελοντες (15)  
αιτιωτ]ατοι φερεσθαι





The second is unmetrical; we must change to ξύν or to δόρει or both. Most editors print ξύν δορί ξύν ἀσπίδι in both places; not many have followed Hermann in opting for cύν δόρει. Our parchment now offers ξύν δόρει, which happens to be what Bothe and others printed. Tragic usage seems to favour ξύν, cf. Olson on *Pax* 356. In general, ξύν was no doubt more likely to be corrupted to cύν than the reverse; between δορί and δόρει, each is an easy itacistic error for the other. What the parchment shows is that ξύν and δόρει coexisted in the fifth century AD. Choiroboskos may have drawn on a manuscript, which we now know to have had a precursor. MacDowell's view that, after the first ξύν had been ousted by cύν 'some editor changed δορί to δόρει in an attempt to restore the metre' now appears less plausible.

1083 παν: παρ' VIJ: πρὸς R. παν yields no sense. Perhaps the combination of rho and elision mark—note its absence in the parchment—was misread as nu. The ensuing αν might also have played a part.

1084 τοξευμ[ατω]ν: so codd. plerique: τοξοτῶν VI<sup>2</sup> contra metrum.

1085 εωσα[μεσθα]: so *An. Ox.* I 446.4–5 (–μεθα) edd.: ἀπεωσάμεσθα Γ<sup>1</sup>J: ἐπανσάμεσθα R: ἐσωζόμεσθα VI<sup>2</sup>. Assuming that the first letters of 1084 and 1085 were aligned, space excludes that the codex had ἀπεωσάμεσθα. We cannot of course tell whether it had the metrically required ending –μεσθα or –μεθα. The reading transmitted by the *An. Ox.* 'is a strange piece of luck, since it garbles and quotes as *Lys.*' (E. W. Handley).

1086 μαχεσθ[αι]: μάχεσθαι codd. What survives from the letter after sigma best suits alpha (only the wedge and the apex). μαχέσασθαι is not strictly unmetrical ('dactyls' in trochaic tetrameters are not intolerable, but the secure parallels are very few, cf. 4510 318 n.), but is less satisfactory in terms of grammar than the received reading.

δ[ιεπτα]το. I supplement with the mss., but certainty on what the papyrus had is impossible. Brunck changed it to διέπτετο, and this was adopted by many editors. However, the mss. reading is blameless, cf. Hirschig's commentary and Kühner-Blass, *Grammatik* ii 234, 515.

1087 A traced reconstruction suggests that lines 1086–87 (lines 28–30) were arranged as follows:

γλαυξγαρημωνπρινμαχεσασθαιτον  
στρατονδιεπτατοειτα  
δειπομεσθαθυναζοντεσειτους

But this would assume an overrun in a non-lyric part (εἴτα δ' should start 1087), which has no parallel in the text as preserved. The alternatives are that l. 30 (1087) was not aligned with l. 28 (1086), i.e. it was written in ekthesis, but such a change of alignment is without a parallel in the parchment; or that the text was different from the received.

]α: εἰπόμεσθα R edd.: ἐπόμεσθα VIJ. The remaining ink is consistent with alpha, but does not positively identify it.

1088 If κεντ]ουμ[ενοι was written in a separate line, the indentation would be of only 3 letters, which does not seem to be the case anywhere else. I therefore believe that the division was effected after κεν, where one would normally divide, cf. E. Mayser, *Grammatik* I i<sup>2</sup> 222, and Turner, *GMAW*<sup>2</sup> p. 17. Of course division after κε cannot be excluded, but it is less likely.

1090 It is not clear where this verse was divided. For the same reasons of space as those stated in the previous note, it is preferable to think that δ]ρικωτερον was written in the following line, with αν kept above. However, one cannot rule out that there may be an exception here to the practice observed elsewhere.

1091 η: so IJ: ῆν C: ῆι V: ῆν R. The traces are uncertain, but η rather than ην is favoured by space. ῆν is not impossible, as MacDowell points out, but it would be easier for ῆ to be corrupted to ῆν than vice-versa.

1095 ευ μελλει[: εὖ λέξειν ἐμέλλομεν codd. It is difficult to guess how the text continued. μελλει[ν, μελλει[ς, or μελλει[ are possible, but the context favours the infinitive. It may be that λέξειν and ἐμέλλομεν were transposed, and the infinitive was written instead of the imperfect, perhaps under the influence of the preceding and/or the ensuing infinitives; in this case the text does not scan. But it is perhaps more likely that λέξειν was supplanted by μέλλειν in assimilation to the following ἐμέλλομεν.

The colon division is uncertain. The parchment is broken off before εὖ, and thus there is no way of knowing whether (i) it had ῥῆσιν before εὖ, i.e. it divided with the mss., or (ii) began the line with εὖ. If (i), ῥῆσιν would have been in ekthesis, but ekthesis is not otherwise in evidence in 1094–1101.

1102 πολλαχη: πολλαχοῦ codd. The new variant is grammatically, as well as metrically acceptable, and yields identical sense with that of the tradition. A striking parallel is provided by Isoc. 4.183: there all editors print πολλαχῇ λογιζόμενος with ΓΕ, while the rest of the manuscripts read –οῦ. πολλαχῇ λογιζόμενος is very

similar to *πολλαχῇ σκοποῦντες* which we have here. But the eccentricity of the other readings in **4513** casts doubt on the genuineness of this novelty.

1107 ]ντες: *ξυλλεγέντες* V edd.: *ξυλλέγοντες* R: *συλλέγοντες* IJ.

τα]νθρηγ[ια. Most editions read *ὥς περ εἰς ἀνθρώγια*, after Kock emended the transmitted *ὥς περ εἰ τὰνθρήγια*. What the parchment had evades us.

N. GONIS

#### 4514. ARISTOPHANES, PAX 1195–1211, 1233–47

68 6B.25/D(1)a

7 × 11.3 cm

Fourth century

A piece of a leaf from a papyrus codex with line-ends and a few marginal notes on the → side (right-hand page) and line-beginnings on the ↓. On the → side the right-hand margin, which is probably the original, measures 4 cm at its narrowest point; on the ↓ the left-hand margin is preserved to 4.8 cm. The writing is along the fibres on the front.

Each page must have contained 36 verses; if the colometry was not considerably different from that transmitted, about 38 pages would have held the whole of the play. The written height was about 21.2 cm; the original width of the codex may be calculated at around 18 cm. No data for the upper and lower margins are available, but codices measuring 18 cm in width fall within those belonging to Turner's Groups 3, 4, and 5 (see the discussion in *Typology* 15 ff., 24). The average page heights of these three groups are 31/2, 25 and 30 cm respectively. We may therefore estimate that the height of the leaf was originally about 25–32 cm.

The writing is in a brownish ink which has faded at places; for metallic inks (originally black, turning brown with age) see *GMAW*<sup>2</sup> p. 19 and n. 107. The rather small hand is a plain round one, with an overall informal stance; it becomes coarser on the side where it is across the fibres, as some physical resistance to the pen was produced by the fibres. Letters often touch. Notable letter-forms include β with broad horizontal base, ν with the oblique curving up to meet the right-hand hasta. The general character is somewhat comparable with *GBEP* 10b (second half of iv cent.), though the latter is more cramped and has even less formal pretensions. A date within the fourth century is probable. The tiny near-cursive script of the marginalia also points to the same date.

Changes of speaker are indicated by *paragraphoi* and *dicola*. Note, however, the absence of the *paragraphos* below 1238, where the antilabe occurs at mid-verse, while it is marked under 1233 and 1245, where the situation is the same. Problematic is the *paragraphos* below 1232, as the speaker continues in 1233. It seems to have been misplaced, but one wonders whether the two speaker changes within 1233 might have been responsible. Apostrophes are written where elision is required (for the alleged prodelision in 1238 see note below). The other lectional signs in evidence consist of a



1210      ἀπ]ωλεσας:      ἐκ ριζων  
              λοφ]ας:      ου πωλεις τους  
                              λοφους

↓

             [      .      .      .  
              κ[αι  
              [      .  
 1235      ε[πειτ  
              εγωγε νη[  
              τον πρω[κτον  
              ιθι νυν 'ξεν[εγκε  
              θλιβει[      '      .  
 1240      τι δ' αλλ[      .  
              ην επρι[αμην  
              μολυβδ[ον  
              επειτ' α[νωθεν  
              γενη[σεται  
 1245      οιμοι κ[αταγελας  
              τον[  
              εν[τευθενι  
              .      .      .

1194 mrg. The ink, if not stray, suggests the presence of annotation opposite where 1194 must have stood (1194 receives comment in the scholia).

1195 mrg. This must be a gloss on something in 1195; either on ἀμύλους or on κίχλας. The first is glossed with πλακοῦντές τινες in Σ 1195b, while Hesychius has πλακοῦντας. On κίχλας Σ 1195d has εἶδος ὄρνιθος ἢ ὀψαρίου, Hesychius offers ἰχθὺς θαλάσσιος καὶ ὄρνις, and *Suda* (κ 1693) gives εἶδος ὀρνέου. I have not managed to match the traces with any of these interpretations. For glosses introduced by εἶδος cf. nos. 7, 11, 24 in McNamee, *Sigla and Select Marginalia* App. 2.

1196 mrg. This note seems to be a rough and ready interpretation of κολλάβους and need not derive from a specialised book; Athenians were very fond of κόλλαβοι, as we may infer from this and other Aristophanic passages. Its only affinity with the scholiastic tradition I have been able to trace is with a scholion on κόλλαβοι at *Ran.* 507: ἄρτοι νέοι ἐκ πυράων...τὰ γὰρ ὀπτὰ καλὰ τὰ ἐξ ἀνθρώπων ὀπτώμενα. For the wording cf. *Suda* s.v. (κ 1924) εἶδος ἄρτου...μικροῦ.

1197 mrg. Two words are written here. The first, ἀναζέω, is a gloss on ἀναβράττω in 1197. Another hand, as indicated by the colour of the ink, made a correction by writing ζε over something which is beyond recovery (possibly ζ is written over a χ). The second may read θερμ...; the letter after μ is most likely α, and the last probably ω; what comes in between is unclear. This looks nothing like an explanation of κίχλας; therefore it too should refer to ἀναβράττω, either as a second gloss or as a continuation of the first. In the former case, we need a verb form: θερμαίνω is the strongest candidate. But it is hard to find ι and ν in the



traces that should belong to these letters. In the latter case, I can think only of *θερμῶς*, which is not only inconsistent with the traces, but would also be nonsensical, if *θερμῶς* was added to help clarify the sense of *βράττω*. In any case, the short blank space before *θερ* does not encourage the idea that it continues the first gloss (but cf. 1211 mrg.).

ζέει is the gloss given for *βράσσει* in Hesychius and *Suda* (β 518). In other lexica and elsewhere in the *Suda* (α 1813) *ἀναβράσσουν* is explained with *ἀναδιδόνειν*. *ἀναβράττω* is also glossed in Σ 1197 and *Ach.* 1005a, b Wilson, but with different wording from the lexica.

1200 mrg. Cf. Pollux 9.72 s.v. *κολλυβιστής*: εἴη δ' ἂν καὶ κόλλυβον λεπτόν τι νομισμάτιον. Other glosses for this word can be found in Hesychius, Thomas Magister and the scholia. This note is not introduced by εἶδος, like the previous glosses or the corresponding interpretations in the scholia and the lexica; I suppose it was absent from the source of this note.

1201 *δραχμῶν* ἐμπολῶ. The verse as transmitted reads νυνὶ δὲ πεντήκοντα δραχμῶν ἐμπολῶ. It has undergone numerous emendations on the grounds of (i) metre: *δρα-* in *δραχμῶν* must be scanned as long, whereas normally it is short (Dawes); (ii) sense: the price of the sickles is too high, and contrasts violently with the price given for the jars in the following verse (Elmsley). The counterarguments, set out most recently by Sommerstein, are: (i) This scansion for *δρα-* is not unparalleled (for parallels see Gomme-Sandbach on *Men. Epit.* 335). (ii) The sum of money involved is deliberately made large for the sake of comic effect (on the unreliability of the prices quoted in Comedy and the comic inflation see D. M. Schaps, *SCI* 8–9 (1985–8) 66 ff.). Spacing suggests that the papyrus had the same text as the medieval tradition.

1202 εἰ: so RV: εἰς rell. On εἰ in Aristophanes see 4516 1669 n., 4520 650 n.

1204 ταυτι: so Γ: ταῦτα RV *contra metrum*.

1205 κακερ]δαναμεν: so codd. plerique: κάκερδαίνομεν PL in error.

1210 mrg. ἐκ ριζῶν is the meaning given by Hesychius, Photius and the *Suda* (π 2438) to πρόρριζος, which glosses *προθέλυμος* in Hesychius, [Herodianus], *De Part.* 113.18, *Suda* (π 2580), and Σ 1210b and *Eq.* 528a, d Jones-Wilson.

1211 mrg. οὐ πωλείς τοὺς λόφους interprets οὐ τι που λοφᾶς in 1211. Σ 1211a, which has λόφους πολλοὺς ἔχει ἐν πράσει, may offer a (remote) parallel. But this does not seem to be the correct rendering of λοφᾶς. Most modern interpretations follow Σ 1211c, which gives ὄνομα πεποίηκεν νοσήματος ἀπὸ τοῦ πράγματος, ὡς λέγομεν τινα ὑδεριᾶν, etc.

1238 ἴθι νυν ἔγενεκε: ἴθι δὴ ἔγενεκε codd. The papyrus is wrong, since the prodelision (only rarely marked in papyri, cf. *GMAW*<sup>2</sup> p. 12) would not have been effected otherwise. It probably derives from 1207, which begins with ἴθι νυν (on this type of error see J. Jackson, *Marginalia Scaenica* 223 ff.). It does not seem likely that the diastole after νυν served as a separator of the two adjacent consonants; this would further point to a different reading from ἔγενεκε, beginning likewise with ξεν, but I cannot think of any.

1240 τι δ' ἀλλ [: τί δ' ἄρα RV<sup>2</sup>: τί δ' ἄρα V<sup>1</sup>IP: ἔγωγ' ἄρα B. The papyrus seems to offer a 'wild' reading. After ἄρα the medieval manuscripts offer τῇ κάλπιγγι τῇδε χρῆσθαι. What follows the second λ has every appearance of being an extraordinarily large apostrophe. But its function is unclear. It may be an elision mark; in that case, a vowel should have followed, but the tradition offers nothing suitable. Alternatively, the sign may be a diastole originally intended to be placed between the two lambdas, but wrongly added after the second of them. I have thought of two possible interpretations: τί δ' ἄλλ' ἄρα, generated from ἄλλο as a variant for ἄρα, or τί δ' ἄλλο. They both have their attractions. In both cases the sense runs smoothly and there are no metrical or grammatical flaws (for the construction of τί with χρῆσθαι cf. *Ach.* 935); note also that τί δ' ἄλλο occurs twelve times in Aristophanes, mostly at the beginning of a new speech. Professor Handley notes that 'the ἄλλο would give the excellent sense "What *else* can I do with this trumpet?..."; to which an answer in terms of alternative use, aptly ludicrous, is given in 1242 ff., and another again in 1245 ff.'

N. GONIS

#### 4515–4516. ARISTOPHANES, *AVES*

Among the unpublished holdings of the EES two fragments have been identified as containing portions of the *Aves*. The verses covered are not among those preserved in any of the papyri of the play hitherto published.

A detailed account of the history of the text can be found in N. Dunbar, *Aristophanes Birds* (1995) 19 ff. My reports on readings derive from J. W. White, E. Cary, *HSCP* 29 (1918) 77 ff., and Dunbar's apparatus. The sigla are Dunbar's.

**4515.** *ARISTOPHANES, AVES* 1324–8, 1357–61

95/61(a)

Fr. 1 3.45 × 2.7 cm

Fifth/sixth century

Two scraps from a papyrus codex. A right-hand margin of 1.1 cm on the → side of fr. 2 is extant. It seems that there were 33 verses to a page, which gives approximately 54 pages to contain the whole of the play. In what survives the interlinear space on the ↓ side is somewhat wider than on the →; this means that with 33 verses to a page the two sides of the leaf would differ c. 2.5 cm in their written height, 18.15 cm for the → to 20.65 cm for the ↓ side. But if written height remained approximately the same in all sides, we may reckon with either a narrower interlinear space in the part now lost, or a different number of verses on each side.

As practically no margins survive, it is not possible to calculate exact figures for the original dimensions of the codex. Of the verses represented, 1359 should have occupied the greatest width, c. 15 cm. Allowing for a possible margin of 5 cm on all sides, we may reconstruct the dimensions of the page as c. 20 × 26 cm (written height is considered at its maximum). This would classify our codex under Turner's Group 4 (Turner, *Typology* 16), a group 'predominantly of iii to iv, except for its aberrants' (ibid. 24). Group 5, especially its subclass (18 × 25 cm), cannot be excluded, for there are several examples of codices of this size from the third to the sixth century (cf. ibid. 17, 24); we must then allow for less generous side-margins.

The text is written in a coarse medium-sized hand, somewhere in the vicinity of the 'Alexandrian Majuscule'. It is somewhat comparable to *GBEP* 21c and d (both v/vi) and the more formal 22a (assigned to mid-v c., but I would prefer a slightly later date). A fifth/sixth century date would seem acceptable. The only lectional sign in evidence is an acute accent (1359), apparently written by the original scribe.

The → side preserves parts of lyrics. Their colometry does not diverge from that adopted in modern editions, but in 1325 differs from R and V, which split the line into two separate cola. This arrangement may be due to the fact that the line is longer than the cola that follow (for the scribal tendency to write lyrics in short cola cf. D. J. Mastronarde, J. M. Bremer, *The Textual Tradition of Euripides' Phoinissai* (1982) 152). The agreement of R and V seems to suggest a common, ancient background; but it would be rash to generalise from a single line that the papyrus provides evidence for an alternative ancient colometry (no metrical *scholia vetera* are available).

The papyrus seems to offer the same text as the medieval tradition against generally accepted emendations in 1325 and 1358; but in 1328, so far as it is preserved, it confirms a correction of Bentley. There is also a trivial new variant, apparently a mistake, in 1327.

	Fr. 1	Fr. 2
→	.	.
		] . . . . . [
1325	φερετω] καλαθον τ[αχυ τις] πτερων cu δ αυ ι]c εξορμα τυπτων] γε τουτω[ν ωδι πανυ γαρ] βραδυς ε[cτι τις ωcπερ ονος .	
	Fr. 2	Fr. 1
↓	.	.
	δ]ει τους ν[εοττους απ]ελαυσα γα[ ] Δι ελθων[ το]ν πατέρα[ 1360 επειδηπε]ρ γαρ ηλθε[c ]ωcπερ ορ[νιν .	

1324 The attribution of the traces to letters is uncertain. I have tried ]ου θατ[τον or ]εγκοι[ησεις, but neither seems very satisfactory.

1325 πτερων: so codd.: πτερύγων Porson and most editors. The emendation is metrical, to make the first colon of the antistrophe correspond with the strophe (1313; cf. Parker, *The Songs of Aristophanes* 341). Perhaps πτερών is an influence from the numerous occurrences of πτερών and πτερά from 1306 onwards (1306, 1307, 1310, 1311, 1375, 1420).

1326 αυ ι]c: αὐτις codd.: αὐθις Brunck edd.

1327 τουτω[ν: τοῦτον codd. The papyrus' reading is wrong. Possibly it was influenced from the omega in the preceding τύπτων and/or the ensuing ὥδι. But it may also be a simple phonetic error.

1328 βραδυς ε[cτι τις: β. τις ἐστίν (τίς ἐστιν) a: β. ἐστιν q: β. ἐcτί τις Bentley, restoring the metre. (My supplement is only *exempli gratia*). The omission of τις in q may be deliberate; but there is also nothing to exclude that it antedates Triklinios.

1358 γα[ γὰρ ἄν RVEUT: γὰρ AMt: τᾶρ' (τᾶρ') ἄν Elmsley: γ' ἄρα Dobree: τᾶρα Meineke. Calculations of the length of the lacuna (our guide is the letters lost in 1325 between the two fragments, which come from a problem-free part of the text) suggest that the papyrus had the unmetrical γὰρ ἄν. For a discussion of the readings see Dunbar's commentary.

1360 γαρ ηλθε[c: so codd. plerique: ἀνῆλθεc E *contra metrum*.

N. GONIS

#### 4516. ARISTOPHANES, AVES 1661-76

106/6(d)

8.7 × 12.1 cm

Second century

The right-hand portion of the lower part of a column of what once was a handsome roll; dirt and humidity are responsible for its present darkened state. The lower margin

measures 3.9 cm; of the intercolumnium 3.9 cm survive at its widest point. If the figure for the extant lower margin is the original, it falls within the range of rolls with column-heights of c. 16–22 cm, see W. A. Johnson, *The Literary Papyrus Roll* (Diss. Yale 1992) 295; in that case the original roll would be of not unusual dimensions, as the common roll height was 25–32 cm (id., *CP* 88 (1993) 47). The script is along the fibres. Back blank.

The hand is a rather informal, well rounded one, and may be assigned to the second century. Bilinearity is violated only by the stems of  $\phi$  and  $\psi$ . Ornamental finials are used plentifully, especially on the feet and the tops of most uprights.  $\epsilon$  tends to fall over; the arms of  $\psi$  constitute a right angle. Somewhat comparable are Schubart, *PGB* 31; Roberts, *GLH* 14 (the second hand); Turner, *GMAW*<sup>2</sup> 22, 62.

The only lectional sign in evidence is a middle point in 1668, apparently written by the scribe himself. It was probably intended to mark a subdivision inside the period, cf. *GMAW*<sup>2</sup> p. 9, unless it functions as a word separator, so that the reader would not articulate  $\delta\iota\alpha\lambda\epsilon\chi\omicron\nu$ . Elision is observed, but no apostrophes seem to have been inserted. Iota adscript is not written in 1667.

This is the oldest surviving manuscript of the *Aves*, and an important testimony to the constitution of the text. It offers a number of unique variants, and lends support to some modern emendations. Also significant is its concurrence with E in offering the best reading in 1670, which confirms that E provides at least some access to ancient readings.

A preliminary edition of this papyrus was made available to N. Dunbar for her edition of the play.

1661–2	αγχ]ιςτειαυ
1662–3	γ]νη[ς]ιων
1663–4	π]αιδες μη ωςι γνησιοι
1664–6	εγγ]υατα γενοϋς με
1666	τ]ων χρηματων ]των πατρων χ[ρ]ηματων ]μεντοι μα Δια· λεξον δε μοι ει]σηγαγ εις τους φρατερας
1670	κ]αι τουτ εθ αυμαζον π[αλαι κεχη]νας αικειαν βλεπων ημ]ων ης καταστησας ε εγω[ ορνιθ]ων παρεξω σοι γαλα ]παλαι δοκεις λεγειν



1675 κ]αγωγε παραδιδωμι σοι  
 τανα]ντια ψηφιζομαι  
 (foot)

1661–66 The law of Solon is given in prose, and is distinguished by indentation of c. 6 letters from the following trimeters. This is a hypothetical restoration of 1661–67:

νοθωδεμηναιααχιστειαν  
 παιδωνοντωνγνησιων  
 εανδεπαιδεςμηωσιγνησιοι  
 τοιςεγγυταταγενουςμε  
 τειναιτωνχρηματων  
 εμοιδαρουδεντωνπατρωνχρηματων

The papyrus divides it into 5 lines, as R and V do, but in the later mss. the fifth verse starts with *μετείνειαι*. (L presents a division into two parallel columns of 3 lines each, with the text running horizontally from the one column to the other; this layout, also used for lyric parts, was probably dictated by aesthetic purposes, or, less likely, by an effort to extract as many iambs as possible from the prose text.) Brunck, who established the numbering now in use, preserved the division into 6 lines.

1662–63 *παιδων ὄντων γνησίων* was first deleted by Hamaker as interpolated. The papyrus supports the transmitted text. For a discussion on whether the phrase goes back to Solon or is an Aristophanic addition see Dunbar ad loc. (to the literature cited there add D. M. MacDowell, *The Law in Classical Athens* (1978) 99).

1663–64 *μη ως* much abraded, restored on the basis of spacing. V has *ὥςιν*, a trivial variant of common type.

1665 *εγγύτατα*: *ἐγγυτάτω* codd. edd. Both forms were used in antiquity (see in general Kühner-Blass, *Grammatik* i 578). *ἐγγύτατα* / *-ω γένους* is a legal phrase which occurs in numerous passages, where both forms of the adverb often coexist as textual variants (for the occurrences in fifth/fourth century literature see Friis Johansen and Whittle on A. *Suppl.* 388; cf. also Blaydes ad loc.). The earliest instance is the passage of Aeschylus mentioned above, where *ἐγγύτατα* is guaranteed by the metre. Parallels could thus allow either reading, and no chronological pattern in the usage of either form can be established. Even the various versions of the law of Solon display the same characteristic lack of uniformity. Aristophanic usage is inconclusive. *ἐγγύτατα* is what all mss. offer at *Ran.* 162, but there the metre would not exclude *ἐγγυτάτω*; in fr. 558 the source has *ἐγγύτ<sup>τ</sup>*, and editors have restored *-ατα* and *-άτω* at different times. The relevant epigraphic evidence is limited to IG I<sup>3</sup> 131 (c. 435 BC) alone, which has *ἐγγύτατα γένος*. This inscription may be of particular importance, as it bears a legal text (the reading is not unequivocal and some editors print *ἐγγυτάτῳ*, but the latest edition rules out the possibility that this can be read on the stone). The inscription, as well as A. *Suppl.* 388 suggest that Aristophanes may have written *ἐγγύτατα*. But what he wrote we cannot determine — I do not see why *-τω* is preferable as the less obvious form' (Dunbar).

U and q add *τοῦ* before *γένους*, but the article is not necessary.

1668 *μα*: so RV/UB: *νῆ* rel., *contra metrum*.

1669 *ἰσηγαγ*: *εἰσήγαγ* E: *ἐσήγαγ* RΓ Aq: *ἐσήγαγεν* V. It is hazardous to guess what the papyrus had. Iota occupies so little room, that considerations of space cannot be reliable. Nevertheless, I would suspect that insofar as the papyrus' *εἰς* stands alone in the tradition, it might have sprung from a preceding *εἰσήγαγ*.

*εἰς*: *ἐς* codd. Editors nowadays print *εἰσήγαγ* and *εἰς*. Coulon postulated that *ἐς* should be preferred 'dans d'anciennes locutions, consacrées par l'usage' (I, introd. xxviii). The argument seems to be: a stock phrase must be old, hence likely to preserve the more archaic *ἐς*. It is not impossible that *ἐς τοὺς φράτερας* is an expression of this kind, as it has every appearance of being a set phrase. But I think it more likely that both *ἐς* and *ἐσήγαγ* result from the well-known tendency of some scribes to restore what they thought to be archaic forms (cf. D. J. Mastronarde, J. Bremer, *The Textual Tradition of Euripides' Phoinissai* 176 f.).

*φράτερας*: *φράτορας* codd. The papyrus offers the correct reading, first restored by Dindorf, and corroborated by the inscriptions (cf. L. Threatte, *Grammar* i 534). *φράτορας* is the form that later became ordinary, and not surprisingly displaced the older in the mss.

1670 τουτ: so E: δῆτ' ΓΥq: δῆτα τ' RVA. I believe that τοῦτ' is likely to be what the poet wrote. For the arguments in favour of τοῦτ' see Dunbar ad loc.

1671 αικειαν: αλκίαν RVEΓUBC: αλτίαν Aq. The papyrus offers the correct reading in terms of orthography, corroborating Lenting's correction. To judge from Threatte, the word does not seem to occur in Attic inscriptions.

1672 ης: ετης A, which was approved by some editors, but seems to be an emendation rather than a genuine variant.

καταστησας: καταστήσω codd. The papyrus vindicates Hirschig's correction, who tried to eliminate the asyndeton. The emendation, which did not immediately meet with overall approval, has been convincingly defended by E. Fraenkel, *Kleine Beiträge* I 449. It may be worth noting that R, V, L have a middle dot after τύραννον; does it go back to ancient punctuation? I presume that the corruption can be explained as a graphic confusion in the minuscule.

1674 παλαι: so codd. plerique: πάλιν RV. I think πάλαι has as good a claim as πάλιν; Dunbar opts for πάλαι as 'more comically exaggerated'.

Some inexplicable ink traces can be discerned after the end of the line; offsets?

1675 κ]αγωγε: E has κάγώ, *contra metrum*.

N. GONIS

#### 4517–4518. ARISTOPHANES, RANAE

Fragments of two papyrus codices double the number of known papyri of *Ranae* (there are no textual overlaps). The history of the text is outlined on pp. 76 ff. of K. Dover's *Frogs* (1993). For the Byzantine recensions see C. N. Eberline, *Studies in the Manuscript Tradition of the Ranae of Aristophanes* (1980). As a basis for the collation I have used Dover's apparatus, with additional material from Eberline, from Dover, *Text*, and from Coulon's apparatus.

#### 4517. ARISTOPHANES, RANAE 592–605, 630–47

66 6B.26/J(1–2)a

15.1 × 10.8 cm

Fourth century

The lower part of a leaf of a papyrus codex. The ↓ side was a right-hand page, the → a left-hand. There were 42 verses to a page; the 1533 numbered verses in modern editions would have occupied c. 37 pages of this codex. The extant lower margin measures 1.3 cm (↓ side); the outer margins (↓) average 2 cm each. The width of the codex may be estimated at around 16 cm. The height of the written area should approximate 21 cm. A page width of 16 cm lies closest to the range of Turner's Group 6, in which codices average 28 cm in height, cf. *Typology* 18, 24 (Groups 7 and 8 are less likely possibilities).

The text is written in metallic ink now appearing dark brown in colour. The practised hand is a specimen of the sloping scripts found in papyri of the fourth century, reminiscent of the 'Severe Style' and congener to the 'sloping pointed majuscule'. Fairly strict bilinearity is preserved. Thin horizontals contrast with thicker uprights and

obliques. Notable is the flamboyance of the descenders of  $\nu$  and (less often)  $\rho$ , descending well below the line and curving sharply to the left. The overall impression is similar to that of *GMAW*<sup>2</sup> 49 (iv); the two hands bear certain affinities, especially in the case of features peculiar to the 'Biblical Majuscule' ( $\eta$ ,  $\mu$ ,  $\nu$ ,  $\rho$ ,  $\tau$ ,  $\phi$ ), but the characteristic feet of long descenders and the decorative finials on the horizontal of  $\tau$  in our codex may suggest a later date. Similarities with most of the letter forms of the script exemplified by the *Freer Gospels* (= *GBEP* 15a), especially in the descenders of  $\rho$  and  $\nu$ , make a date close to AD 400 likely. It represents, however, a less advanced stage of development; the *Freer Codex* shows a higher degree of stylisation and may be somewhat later in date.

The text is richly provided with lectional signs. All may have been written at the same time as the text (same ink). *Paragraphoi* and *dicola* signal speaker changes, and there is also a marginal *nota personae*. *Apostrophes* mark all elisions except one (599a; there is nothing in 645 after  $\pi\alpha\tau\alpha\xi]\alpha\varsigma$ , but it is disputed, see 645 n.). There are also high points, a low point (see 644 n.), acute accents, circumflexes (between letters, in the pointed form), a rough breathing (Turner's form 3), a diastole after  $\sigma\upsilon\kappa$  in 640, and diaereses (inorganic) in the form of short horizontals along with the usual pair of dots. Crasis has been effected in 647, but not in 598. Prodelision is left unmarked. Iota adscript is employed three times (once in error, see 643 n.) and missed twice. A revision of the text appears likely, as indicated by the dicolon written high and squeezed between the letters in 647; the iotas added high between the letters in 599b, 642, and 643, substituting for missing iota adscripts; the paragraphos in 597, clumsily inserted further to the right than usual; the addition of a word omitted during copying in the left-hand margin, opposite the verse where it should normally belong. (It is not clear whether the correction in 639 was made *currente calamo* or during the revision.) There is no indication that the revision is due to a separate *diorthotes*; the marginal additions seem to be by the same hand, and the colour of the ink is consistent with that of the main text. Despite the *diorthosis*, however, an orthographic error has been overlooked (605). In what regards syllable-division, the papyrus exhibits the tendency to attach the consonant of an elided syllable to the following vowel, even if that consonant has to be transferred to the next line (599a; 598b seems to be a different case). This seems to have been the usual practice in antiquity, cf. Herodian 2.408 and the examples assembled by Mayser, *Grammatik* I i<sup>2</sup> 224. This is also in evidence in the mss., at least in RVKt.

A feature that this codex shares with the other two published papyri of *Ranae* is the presence of verses of lyric. It has been observed that the colometry of those two papyri generally tallies with that of R (cf. Dover, *Frogs* 90). Here too the arrangement of the lyrics does not diverge considerably from that of RVAK (see below note on colometry).

The papyrus offers no significant textual novelty. Its points of divergence from the medieval tradition can be dismissed as scribal errors. But it is of special interest that it accords with some medieval manuscripts in certain much disputed readings.

In the numbering of the lyrics I follow Dover.





645

ηδη παταξ]ας: ου μα Δι': ουδ' εμοι δοκεις·  
 αλλ ειμ επι] τονδι' και παταξω: πηνικα:  
 και δη πατ]αξα: κα̑τα πως ουκ επταρον[

*Note on colometry.* The papyrus disagrees with RVAK in the following points: (i) here 592a-b are combined into one colon (see 592 n.), contrary to the mss. where they are separated; (ii) 600 (correctly) ends in *πει-* here, while R and V divide at *πειρα-* (to judge from Dover's apparatus AK should agree with the papyrus). But the agreement of the papyrus and the mss. in having the last two cola of each strophe (596-7, 603b-604) conflated into one is characteristic (see also 604 n.) — it is not important that R has *τὰ στρώματα* in the next line, as this is probably due to reasons of space. Conflations into a single colon of a sequence normally treated as two separate cola is a recurrent phenomenon in the manuscripts, commonly held to represent the copyists' attempt to save space. It is hardly significant that in the papyrus the lyrics (with the exception of the lengthy 603b-604, written in *ekthesis*) are aligned with the iambs, whereas in the mss. the lyric part is separated from the iambic by means of indentation and the like; the layout preferred is often a matter of individual aesthetic preferences.

592 ]το δεινον. The verse as transmitted by manuscripts other than *t* reads *ἀνανεάζειν καὶ βλέπειν αὖθις τὸ δεινόν* (εἰς τὸ δεινόν A unmetrically). This could be scanned as a trochaic trimeter. But it should respond with 599b-600 in the antistrophe, and also with 536-7a and 543b-544a in the corresponding pair of stanzas, which all present a trochaic tetrameter (or two dimeters). It seems that one metron has dropped out; the natural place for it would be after or before *ἀνανεάζειν*. Various supplements have been proposed; the oldest is that of *t*, *σεαυτὸν αἰεὶ*, made up by Triklinios himself to patch up the problematic colon, as he professes in his scholion (Σ<sup>Vv5</sup>, see Eberline, op. cit. 73). The one that has fared best is Seidler's *αὖ τὸ λῆμα*. The evidence from the papyrus is not unequivocal. If it had contained the two dimeters intact, those would have been given as two separate cola, i.e. *ἀνανεάζειν—καὶ—*, just like the following dimeters. But the position of *τὸ δεινόν* in the papyrus indicates that *καὶ* cannot have started the line: if alignment with the rest had been effected, some more letters must have preceded *καὶ*. I think it unlikely that the previous dimeter was also written in the line, for the space available seems too short to accommodate it, even if *ekthesis* were employed—unless we think of an overrun, with the dimeter split between two lines; but this practice is not in evidence in the rest of the text. It would thus seem that the papyrus had the same text as the mss. with *ἀνανεάζειν* starting the line, but, as spacing suggests, in *ekthesis* of about the same length as that in 603b-4. For a discussion of the passage see W. Trachta, *Die Responsionsfreiheiten bei Aristophanes* (Diss. Wien 1968) 87 f.; C. Romano, *Responsioni libere nei canti di Aristofane* (1992) 57 ff.; Zimmermann, *Untersuchungen* I 200; and the commentaries of Dover and Sommerstein.

595 *κακβαλῆ*]ς: so VΣ<sup>RV</sup>: καὶ βάλλης RAKUt: καὶ βάλλης Vb3Θ: καὶ βάλλεις M. Before the break only the foot of an upright survives, but *ε*] cannot be read.

596 *ς' α*]ναγκη παλιν: so RKMU: *ς' ἀνάγκη 'στι πάλιν* V: *σε πάλιν* A: *ς' ἀνάγκη τις πάλιν t*. The responding lines (540-1) have the pattern  $\cup - x - \cup -$ ; by comparison, RKMU omit a long syllable before *πάλιν*, whereas V substitutes a short. After Dawes, most editors print *'εται*. The close similarity of *'εται* to the reading of V makes the latter interesting: it is not unlikely that *'στι* derives from *'εται* through the omission of the alpha. For the presumed corruption there is a good parallel at *Ach.* 792, where the Berlin codex and R have *ἔεται*, whereas AF give *ἔστι*. (This may also be the case in E. *IA* 1033, where the transmitted *ἔστιν* was emended to *ἔεται* by Markland.) The metrical defect of *'στι* can also be repaired by the addition of nu ephelkystikon. The Triklinian reading seems to be a metrical restoration; but no metrical scholion exists, and there is always the possibility that Triklinios found *τις* in some manuscript and did not invent it himself. Considerations of space suggest that the papyrus had the same text as RKMU; in the lacuna there is no room for any of the words transmitted between *ἀνάγκη* and *πάλιν* (nor for any of the conjectures).

*τα*: om. V against grammar (cf. 525) and metre.

598b *αλλα*. The first alpha bears an acute overwritten with an apostrophe, while the second has another acute. This seems to suggest that the scribe interpreted the *scriptio continua* either as (i) *παραινεί τ'αλλα*, or as (ii) *παραινείτ' αλλα* (instead of the correct *παραινείτ' ἀλλά*), and added an acute on the first alpha of *αλλα*—

a choice between (i) and (ii) on the basis of the division is impossible, cf. *ταυ|ταρτι* later in the line. At a later stage, he corrected his mistake by writing an apostrophe over the accent and adding another accent on the last syllable of *αλλα*. I cannot exclude that the origin of the accent on the first alpha (or the division *παραινει|ταλλα*) is an apostrophe mistaken as an accent. (For oxytones bearing an acute see J. Moore-Blunt, *QUCC* 29 (1978) 138 ff.; C. M. Mazzucchi, *Aegyptus* 59 (1979) 154 f.)

596–7 mrg. It seems that *αυθις* had been omitted during copying, and was added later in the margin. There is no means of telling whether it was absent from the scribe's exemplar, and was supplied after a collation with another copy. One might think that it was written in 596, and the correction transfers it to 597; but spacing does not allow this.

600 *τουτ'*: so RVM: *ταῦτ'* AKU<sup>l</sup>. Most editors print *ταῦτ'*, first defended by Fritzsche. Perhaps the pronoun was thought of as referring to the preceding *χρηστών τι*, and consequently *τοῦτ'* found its way into the text.

603 *και*: om. A *contra metrum*.

603b *δεινον*: *δεῖν* codd. The papyrus is badly rubbed after iota; nu is possible, but not secure. *δεινὸν δ' ἔοικεν* makes no sense, but it is not clear how *δεινόν* came to enter the text. It might stem from *δεινόν* in 592, or from misreading; but note that the papyrus shows signs of careful correction. Another possibility is that it is interpolated: *δεινόν* may have been influenced by the significance of the preceding *βλέποντ' ὀρίγανον*, or it may be meant to illustrate Xanthias' emotional state following the knock on the door (604). In this case it may be worth considering the possibility of an intrusive gloss.

605 *ξυνδεται*. *αι* for *ε*: Gignac, *Grammar* i 193. No trace of the *paragraphos* expected between 604 and 605 is visible, but that may be due to abrasion.

637 *γ'*: so RV: om. AKMU<sup>l</sup>. Metre can be of no help, but since the presence of the particle is ordinarily not in surplus in the *vetustiores*, I suppose its absence from the Palaeologan mss. should go back to a scribal omission.

638 The *paragraphos* between 637 and 638 is curious. It may be taken to indicate that the speaker beginning 638 is different from the one who speaks last in 637; the change of speakers could have taken place either at the start of 638 or within 637 (as in 632). There is no manuscript evidence for such a change (637 ff. are uniformly attributed to Xanthias). If an *antilabe* was indeed marked in the papyrus, this could have been noted after *λόγος* in 637. But this part of the text does not survive; and a change at this point would not be justifiable by the context (*καὶ (χωπότερον)* is also an awkward way to introduce a sentence by a new speaker). If *paragraphoi* were added at a revision stage, we may reckon that this one was misplaced (for wrongly inserted *paragraphoi* in the papyri see Lowe, loc. cit. 32). But the fact that the next speaker change occurs only three verses later seems to speak against the possibility of a displacement.

*κλαυσαντα*. R wrongly gives *κλαύοντα*.

639 *ηγουμαι* corrected to *ηγουμη*. *ηγουμ* easily recalls *ἡγοῦμαι*.

642 *ημας*: *νῶ* codd. The reading of the papyrus is unmetrical: a common banalisation, no doubt, but perhaps intrusive annotation? Note that in 637 the scribe correctly wrote *νῶιν*.

643 The tiny upright inserted high between *ω* and *ς* resembles the iota adscript added high in 642, although this is smaller in size. Perhaps the scribe mistakenly thought that *καλῶς* needed an iota adscript (by false analogy with *κάλως*, as in *Pax* 458?), and decided to supply it later.

644 *νυν*: so R VAKMU: *γ' t*.

*μ' υποκινησαντ'*: so RAMUS (rightly): *με παρα-* Kt: *μ' ἀπο-* V. *παρακινεῖν* is metrically unacceptable with *νυν*, and *γ'* which replaces *νυν* in *t* may be a metrical emendation.

After *νυν* there is a punctuation mark resembling a double point. It is too low in the line and compressed to be a *dicolon*, and in any case a speaker change at this point would be absurd. The papyrus is somewhat abraded, and this might explain why a low point now appears split in two. But it is higher in the line than would be expected for a normal low point. At any event, if it is indeed a low point, its purpose is dubious; does it serve as a word separator, with the role of an *hypodiatole* (*GMAW*<sup>2</sup>, pp. 9, 11), or is it punctuation, separating the main clause from the subordinate (*GMAW*<sup>2</sup>, p. 9)?

645 *παταξ* | *ας*: *πατάξας* RΣ<sup>V</sup> *πάταξας* V: *πάταξας* K: *πάταξάς* U<sup>t</sup>: *πάταξάς* c' AM. (Dover gives *πατάξα σ'* as the reading of V; the accent is placed directly above the junction of the first alpha with tau, but it is clear that it is the antepenultimate that receives the accent.) The various readings represent diverging interpretations of the *scriptio continua*, as was first recognised by Fraenkel (*Beobachtungen zu Aristophanes* 132).

παταξ]αc could be resolved as either (i) 'πάταξας or (ii) 'πάταξά c' (πατάξας would make no sense). A possible argument against (ii) is that the elision is left unmarked, but the elision has not been signalled in 599a; furthermore, it may be that the absence of the elision mark is due to the following dicolon, which might function as separator. The papyrus therefore does not preclude either reading.

A further difficulty in this verse concerns the distribution of parts to speakers. The mss. divide 645 into three parts: 1st part: Ai. VAMU*t*: deest in RKM*d*i; 2nd part: Xa. VAMU*t*: Ai. RΣ<sup>KU</sup>; 3rd part: Ai. VAU*t*: Xa. RS: Di. M. This uncertainty is apparent in the scholia too (cf. Σ<sup>R</sup> on 649 and Rutherford's note). To all appearances the papyrus' assignment of the first two speaking parts seems to be the same as in VAMU*t*: it does not continue 645 to Xanthias, and gives him the first negative answer. But the attribution of the third part is problematic. It is not clear whether the scribe intended to write a *dicolon* (double point) or a high point (punctuation) at the end of the line. The upper point is clear. Below that is a smaller point, written further to the right and higher in the line than the lower constituents of other dicola, so that it may be thought that there is no connection between the two points. Nor can it be excluded that the lower point was added at a later stage. This uncertainty about the final punctuation makes it difficult to decide to which speaker the papyrus assigned the words οὐδ' ἐμοὶ δοκεῖc. If a high point is admitted, the same speaker continues to the next line, and can thus be identified with Aiakos, who speaks at the start of 646. If, on the other hand, a double point is assumed, the last words of 645 are given to Dionysos, as in M.

The variation in the accentuation of παταξας and the problematic speaker distribution have given rise to a number of emendations, and widely divergent views have been expressed. For a discussion of the passage see the commentaries of Dover and Sommerstein, and R. Kassel, *RhM* 137 (1994) 46 f.

N. GONIS

#### 4518. ARISTOPHANES, *RANAE* 1244–8, 1277–81

64 6B.45/L(2)b

2.5 × 3.1 cm

Fifth century

A scrap of a leaf of a papyrus codex. No margins survive. There were c. 33 verses to a page, which would give a length of approximately 47 pages for the whole play. The depth of the written surface may be calculated as c. 21.3 cm. 1246, the longest in number of letters (37) of the preserved verses, would require a breadth of c. 20.2 cm. These dimensions are compatible with a codex of rather large format; with side margins measuring no less than 2 cm each the page would be at least 24 cm wide, a figure that points to codices belonging to Turner's Groups 1 and 2, cf. *Typology* 14 f. In these Groups are classified codices usually exceeding 25 cm in height. We may thus estimate that the original page dimensions were 24 + × 25 + cm.

The text was copied with a thick pen in a metal-based ink, now turned brownish in colour. The script, large, heavy, and somewhat coarse, is a congener of the class of 'sloping pointed majuscule'. A date within the fifth century may not be far off the mark; the absence of any kind of mannerism or stylization speaks against a later date. In the little that remains there is no evidence of lectional signs.



↓	.	.	.	→	.	.	.
			]. [				πελαθε]ι[ς] επ [
1245			] ερε]ι [				κοπω]ν οσον [
			ληκ]υθιον γ[αρ				βου]λομαι [
			ωσπε]ρ τα κυ[κα	1280			] βουβων[ιω
			τ]α μελη [				στ]αζ[ι]ν μ[ελων
			.				.

1244 λ]ε[λεκται not excluded.

1278 Above the first omicron what seems to be a thin grave accent, but perhaps stray ink only.

N. GONIS

#### 4519–4521. ARISTOPHANES, *PLUTUS*

Three unpublished papyri of *Plutus* complete this section. Four papyri of the play have been published so far. There are slight overlaps of text between **4519** and XIII **1617**, and between **4520** and **4521**.

There are some one hundred and fifty manuscripts of *Plutus*, most of them late. Only a small fraction has been collated. Various aspects of the history of the text are touched upon by Dover, *Text*, but a systematic study remains a desideratum (the studies of M. R. Di Blasi which have appeared in *Maia* 49 (1997) 69 ff., 367 ff., although useful, rely on too small a number of manuscripts to fill the gap). Under present circumstances it is not easy to decide which manuscripts count as primary for the critical apparatus; it is also difficult to find collations of some of the manuscripts that one might suspect to be primary. I have thus decided to report only on RVAMU, as Coulon does, with the addition of *t*. Other mss. are mentioned only when they are the sole witnesses for a reading. It is hoped that this selective report does not conceal anything that would help evaluate the papyrus texts any better.

I have consulted the apparatuses of Blaydes, Velsen, and Coulon; K. v. Holzinger's *Die Aristophaneshandschriften der Wiener Hofbibliothek* (1940) and his commentary; W. J. W. Koster, *Autour d'un manuscrit d'Aristophane écrit par Démétrius Triclinius* (for the Triklinian mss.; see also N. G. Wilson, *CQ* 12 (1962) 32 ff. (on L), and S. Benardete, *HSCP* 66 (1962) 241 ff. (on Vv17)); Dover, *Text*; M. L. Chirico, *Aristofane in terra d'Otranto* (1991). I have also collated P8, P9, P19, P20, and L from the originals.

References to the scholia follow M. Chantry (1994) and (1996) for the *vetera* and the *recentiora* respectively.



4519. ARISTOPHANES, *PLUTUS* 1-16

87/112(b)

4.4 × 10.8 cm

Third century  
Plate XVI

A fragment of a roll containing verse beginnings. There is a top margin of 2.2 cm. The left-hand margin also measures 2.2 cm at its widest point. The beginnings of the verses move progressively leftward as the column descends (Maas' law; see W. A. Johnson, *ZPE* 96 (1993) 211 ff.). Three lines of obscure import are written in a tiny cursive script in the margin, starting from above the column-top and ending at the level of the first line. Back blank.

The script is a medium-sized mature 'Severe Style'. I would assign it to the early part of the third century, as a comparison with the 'more rapid and flamboyant' *GLH* 21a, dated to the first half of the third century, may suggest. The cursive hand of the marginalia also points to a third century date. The scribe's peculiarities include δ with very broad base and (once) initial loop, ξ with a comma-shaped medial stroke, and the gentle leftward curvature of most descenders. The first two letters of v. 1 are made larger than is usual in the rest of the text; on the practice of enlarging the initial letter of the first line of a column see *GMAW*<sup>2</sup> p. 7 and n. 25. The scribe wrote a rough breathing twice (1, 9) and a smooth once (3), uniformly in Turner's form 1. No other diacriticals are in evidence.

This is one of the very few papyri preserving the beginning of a work of literature. As in most of them, there is no preliminary material written above the first line, which is at column-top. (The hardly legible jottings to the left of the column do not seem to have any relation with what could be considered as introductory material.) There is no way of knowing whether a title or anything else was written in the space before the column. On beginnings of papyri carrying dramatic texts see W. E. H. Cockle, *Euripides: Hypsipyle* 219 ff.; on book titles see *GMAW*<sup>2</sup> pp. 13 f. and nn. 70 and 72, and G. Bastianini, 'Tipologie dei rotoli e problemi di ricostruzione', *Papyrologica Lupiensia* 4 (1996) 26 ff.

With the exception of a mistake in 4, probably a scribal error, there is no point of textual interest in our papyrus.

]ρα. ἔγ. ηντῆ[ ].

]ῶ. ην καιρα[ ]ν

]σα τῶ βοτ[ ].

Top

ῶς αργα[λεον

δουλον [

ἦν γαρ [

δοξαι δ[ε

5                    μετεχε[ιν  
                      του σωμα[τος  
                      κρατειν [   
                      και ταυ[τα  
                      ὅς θεσπ[ιωδαι  
 10                   μεμψ[ιν  
                      ιατρος ω[ν  
                      μελαγχ[ολωντ  
                      ο]ς τις ακ[ολουθει  
                      το]υναν[τιον  
 15                   οι] γαρ βλ[εποντες  
                      ουτο]ς [

mrg. The import of the *marginalia* is obscure. There is a numeral in the first line, but I cannot make out much else. Some suprascript horizontals apparently indicate abbreviations, and perhaps they stand for final nus. I have considered whether they may carry introductory material, but have not found any clue in the scholia. It may be that they bear no relation to the text.

4 δοξαι: δόξη codd. The papyrus' reading mars the grammar. A scribal blunder is possible.

5 χ corrected from ι.

N. GONIS

#### 4520. ARISTOPHANES, *PLUTUS* 635-679, 698-738

66 6B.4/D(1)a

10.5 × 27.8 cm

Fifth century

A leaf from a papyrus codex. The ink has faded badly, especially on the → side, and in places the matching of the traces with the letters expected to be there is very uncertain. Lower margins are apparently wholly preserved, and measure 2.8 cm on the ↓ side and 3.8 cm on the →. The left-hand margin of the ↓ amounts to 3 cm; on the → the right-hand margin is 4.3 cm at its narrowest point. The lower part of the left-hand edge of the ↓ page looks straight enough to have been close to the break down the central fold of the sheet.

There were 59 lines on the → side, but probably one or two fewer on the ↓. Assuming 58-59 lines to a page, the whole work would have been contained in 21 pages. With this format the play could not have begun at the top of a page; compare XI 1373. 58 lines would have occupied a depth of c. 30.6 cm on the ↓ side; on the → for 59 lines the column-height would be 29.5 cm. Assuming that the ratio of the lower margin to the upper was the customary 3:2 (cf. Turner, *Typology* 25), the upper margin

of the → would measure about 2.5 cm. The height of the codex could then be calculated at c. 35.9 cm. The breadth of the original page would be no less than 18.7 cm. It seems that the codex was more or less twice as tall as it was wide; the original sheet, before folding, will have been nearly square. Very tall codices are usually taken to belong to Turner's Group 1; none of its representatives, however, as listed in *Typology* 14–5, fall below 20 cm in width (this figure is the result of reconstruction; the narrowest preserved width measures 21.5 cm). But of course 18.7 cm is a minimum estimate. There is also proximity to some of the aberrants of Group 3 (*ibid.* 16), namely those with dimensions  $18/9 \times 33/4$  cm.

The hand is a small informal one with occasional cursive tendencies. Letter-shape and size vary considerably at times. The second, correcting, hand (see below) shows no more pretensions to formality. The general character of both would suit a date in the fifth century. They seem contemporary with *GBEBP* 20b = *GMAW*<sup>2</sup> 23 (2nd half of v c., as assigned by Cavallo-Maehler).

The text has received extensive *diorthosis*. It must have been the work of a separate *diorthotes*, as indicated by the difference in the colour of the ink (the copyist used a metallic ink now turned brown, while the corrector employed one that is still black), as well as in letter forms. On *diorthosis* in literary papyri see K. McNamee, *Proc. XVI Int. Congr. Pap.* (1981) 79 ff.

Breathings and accents are added in most possible instances, chiefly by the second hand. All accents are represented. Notable are the combinations of the smooth breathing with the circumflex in 644 and 734 (the circumflex is written to the right of the breathing). The grave accents are employed in much the same way as they are from the fifth century onwards, cf. C. M. Mazzucchi, *Aegyptus* 59 (1979) 147. They are not placed on monosyllables, nor over all polysyllabic oxytones; this was virtually the rule, cf. J. Moore-Blunt, *QUCC* 29 (1978) 148. The *diorthotes* added a few elision marks that the copyist had missed, and corrected some orthographical slips. Despite the revision, there is a wrongly placed accent (acute for circumflex in 651, but perhaps what we see now is the left-hand part of a pointed circumflex), and one instance of *scriptio plena* (Δία in 657). Another uncorrected error seems to have been overlooked in 653 (τῆαχιστα), but perhaps the iota following tau is only an offset. Prodelision (647) is effected, but left unmarked. Crasis is noted by the scribe in 664 and the corrector in 672: the scribe used an apostrophe; the corrector employed a short horizontal, which he placed below the smooth breathing (a *longum*, to show that the syllable is made long by crasis?). Iota adscript is written superscript in 645, 710, and 716, by the corrector, and is omitted in 658 (possibly also in 708). Diaeresis is written twice over ι, once to avoid reading the sequence υι as a diphthong (710), the other to mark the beginning of the second element of a compound (738), and once over υ at the beginning of a word (735), perhaps to avoid reading it with the preceding consonant (the elision mark which should have been placed between them is omitted). Speaker changes are signalled by *dicola* and *paraphoroi*; most of them are added by the first hand, but a few are in black ink, indicative of the

corrector's pen. The corrector also added a forked paragraphos between 664 and 665 (see note below).

The codex also received some annotation; there are glosses in 720 and 729, and a variant in 729. Both *diorthosis* and annotation seem to have been effected by the same hand (the same black ink), but this is not entirely certain. There is nothing to suggest that they should be associated with the stages of the production of the codex, and were not the work of the owner (on the issue see McNamee, *MC* 18; *Proc. XVI Cong. Pap.* 80); after all, that was an age when readers often copied their books, cf. *GBEBP* pp. 3 f. Evidence of revision, often proving collation with another copy, and the presence of philological *sigla* have been thought to indicate books belonging to scholars (E. G. Turner, *Greek Papyri*<sup>2</sup> 92 ff.). But the shortcomings noticed above do not seem compatible with a 'scholar's text'. Instead, the abundant accentuation may suggest a close affiliation with the school, cf. R. Cribiore, *Writers, Teachers and Students in Graeco-Roman Egypt* (1996) 85.

One other fragment of a papyrus codex of *Plutus* assigned to the fifth century was found in Oxyrhynchus and published as XIII **1617**. Unfortunately, neither the original nor a photograph of this papyrus now exist. The two papyri share the extensive diorthosis carried out in black ink, the numerous breathings and accents, and the annotation. But we are probably dealing with two different codices, since the number of lines to a page in **1617** varies between 28–31 (its dimensions have been reconstructed at 17 × 30 cm, see Turner, *Typology* 103).

The papyrus presents a new reading in 641 and (probably) 715, and omits a line (648) attested in all other manuscripts; there is possibly another new reading in 707. None of the novelties improves the transmitted text. Notable also are the variant in 720, and the agreement (in error) with two *recentiores* in 712, and with P20<sup>ac</sup> in 738. In general, the text of the papyrus shows no consistent support for a single ms. or group of mss.

Owing to the bad state of preservation of the papyrus, a diplomatic transcript precedes the articulated.





	<p>             ] . αυ . . . [ ] . [ . . . . . ' ] .              ] . . ε . . . [           </p>		<p>             γὰρ αὐτοῦ μ[έγα πάν]υ              γ]ὰρ ἐπεφ[ύχητό μου           </p>
700	<p>             ] . [             ] . [ . . ] [             ] . [             ] . [ . ] . [ . ] . τ . ν [ . . ] . . [             ] . . . . ε [ ] . . . . ' [ ] . [ . . . . ] :           </p>	700	<p>             ἐβδελύ τ τετο              ἀκ]ολ[ου θ[οῦς'              Πανά κε[ι'              ] λ[ι]βα[ν]ωτὸν [γὰρ]β βδ[έω              Δ]ι' οὐδ' ἐφρό[ν]ι τ ιεν           </p>
705	<p>             ] . . . εινα . . . ν[ . ] . ον              ]κατο[ . ]γον[ . ] . [ . ]' . αν'              ] . θὺς νε . [ . ] [ . ]' . [             ] . . [ . ]' . . . . [ . ] . .           </p>	705	<p>             ] κύ γ' εἶναι τὸν [θ]εὸν              ] κατοφ[ά]γον . [α]ῖ [τ]άλαν'              ε]ὐθὺς νεκα[λ]υ[ψ]ῖ ἀμη[ν              κύκ]λω [τ]ὰ νορήμ[α]τα              πάν]τα κοσμίως πά[ν]υ           </p>
710	<p>             ] ^ . ' θιν . θυῖ . . ν[             ] . ι . . . . '[             ] ουχ . τοκ[ . . . . ] . [ . ] . :             ] . . . . . [ . . . . ] . ε             ] . . ατ . ^ . [ . ] . ιβ[ . . ] . . .           </p>	710	<p>             αὐτῶ]ι λιβινον θυϊδιον [             κ]αὶ κιβώ[τιον              ] οὐχὶ τὸ κ[ιβώτ]ι[ο]ν              κάκ]ιςτ' ἀπο[λούμε]νε              ] διὰ τοῦ τριβ[ων]ίου           </p>
715	<p>             ] . ειν[ . ] . ο [ . ] . α              ] . ω . εοκ[ . . . . ]' . [ . ] . μακο . [             ]' [ . ] . ρ[ . . . . ] . [ . ] . . . ν              ] . ν [ . ] ωνε . ιτ[ . . ] . [             ] . . [ . ] γνυ[ . ] ν . . [           </p>	715	<p>             ] . ειν [μ]ὰ τὸν Δία              ] τῷ Νεοκ[λειδῇ]ι φά[ρ]μακον              ] τρι[βει]ν [ἐ]μβαλῶν              Τ]ηνίων ἐπειτ' [ἐ]φλα              κυμπαρ]με[ι]γνύων ὁπ[ὸν           </p>
720	<p>             ] . . . [ ] μ [ . ] . ο [ . . . . ]' [ δ . μντατω              ] . α [ . ] λε . α . ε . [             ] . . . . κρ[ . ] . ω [             ] ἐθεος . [ . ] . [             ] . . τ [ . . ] ε . [           </p>	720	<p>             ] διέμενος Ϛ[φηττ]ί[ω δριμντάτω              ] τὰ [β]λέφαρ' ἐκ[             ] ὁ δὲ κεκρα[γ]ὼς [             δ]ὲ θεὸς γε[λ]ά[σας              ] κατα[π]επ[λασμένος           </p>
725	<p>             ] ω . ετ[ . ]              ] . μωνκ[ . ]              ] τωνι . α . [             ] . εφαλῆσεφ[             ] μβι . νλα[ . ] ημιτυβιον ρακ . .           </p>	725	<p>             παύς]ω σε τὰ[ς              δα]ίμων κα[ὶ              Πλού]τωνα παρε[καθέζετο              ] κεφαλῆς ἐφ[ήψατο              ἡμιτύ]μβιον λαβ[ὼν] ἡμιτύβιον ῥάκος           </p>
730	<p>             ] . . . . [ . . . . ] . . [ . ] . . . η . .              ] . ν [ . . . . ] ηνφοι . [ . . . . ]              ] . . . . . [ . ] . [ . . . . ] . [ . ] π . [             ] . ράκον . κ[ . ]              ] θο . : ὠφιλο . θε[             ] . οι[ . ] . ικί . ὑπ[ . ] . ο . υ . [             ] . ιχον[ . . ] . εμο[             ] . κπ . . . . οί[ν]              ] . ανίς . ηκ[           </p>	730	<p>             περιέψ]ηεν [ἡ Παν]άκε[ι]α δὲ              τ]ῆν κ[εφα]λήν φοιν[ικίδι              πρὸς]ωπον' ἐῖθ' [ὁ] θεὸς ἐπ[όππ]υεν              ] δράκοντ' ἐκ τ[οῦ              μέγε]θος ὦ φίλοι θε[οί              ] φοι[ν]ικιδ' ὑποδύν[θ'              περιέ]λιχον [ᾧς] γε μο[ι              ] ἐκπιεῖν οἶν]ου              δέσποι]ν' ἀνιστήκ[ει           </p>
735	<p>             ] . οι[ . ] . ικί . ὑπ[ . ] . ο . υ . [             ] . ιχον[ . . ] . εμο[             ] . κπ . . . . οί[ν]              ] . ανίς . ηκ[           </p>	735	<p>             ] ἐκπιεῖν οἶν]ου              δέσποι]ν' ἀνιστήκ[ει           </p>

(foot)

641 αρ[ε]α. The reading is not entirely certain: the trace of the putative *a* does not exactly match the regular shape of the letter elsewhere; the next letter looks like *τ* at first glance, but *ρ* is possible, if the horizontal trace on top of the upright is taken to be the lower part of the circlet of *ρ* (it is not *γ*).

αρα πραττε[ε]: ἀρά γ' ἀγγέλλεται R: ἀρ' ἀγγελεῖ Vb3: ἀρά γ' ἀγγελεῖται M: ἀρά γ' ἀγγελεῖ VAUε: ἀρ' ἀγγέλλεται Porson edd. The papyrus seems to offer a new reading, a form of *πράττω*, although not preserved in its entirety. By analogy with R we may try to restore *πράττε[ται]*. But another alternative, *πράττε[τε]*, is perhaps more attractive: the change of *αρεπραττε[ε]* to *αραπραττε[ε]* may suggest that *πράττετε* (present) was misunderstood or miscopied as *ἐπράττετε* (imperfect), and this was made good by the correcting hand.

Both *πράττεται* and *πράττετε* would be metrical, and for the phrase one could adduce *Pl.* 341 *χρηστόν τι πράττων*, or *Men. fr.* 534 and *Mon.* 868 *χρηστὰ πράττειν* (cf. also *Eq.* 811 *πεποηκότα ... χρηστά*). But neither seems to suit the situation. Since Chremylos' wife appears to be interested in the chorus' *βοή*, *πράττεται* seems less to the point than *ἀγγέλλεται*. With *πράττετε*, i.e. a second person plural, there is a further difficulty: she must be addressing the chorus, but there is no indication elsewhere that she talks to them at all (Karion is the carrier of the news, which is already known to her, cf. Holzinger's note). Either alternative may therefore be dismissed in favour of *ἀγγέλλεται*. It is not clear how the papyrus' reading arose; the medieval tradition is unanimous in offering a form of *ἀγγέλλω*. I do not think it likely that it was a purely graphic error (*ΑΓΓΕ* misread as *ΑΤΤΕ*). Perhaps the scribe introduced a form of *πράττω* under the influence of constructions of *χρηστά* with this verb. For a discussion of the other mss. readings see van Leeuwen, introd. to the facsimile of *Ravennas* p. xiv; Holzinger ad loc.; Dover, *Text* 235.

[648] This verse is absent from the papyrus, but is not reported to be missing from any other manuscript. The omission is probably a simple mechanical error: *ετοιμν* occupies the same position in 648 and 649, and the scribe may have strayed from one to the other (*saut du même au même*). I do not think that there is any inherent ground for the omission; without 648, 649 seems rather up in the air. It is notable that the corrector did nothing to make the omission good. If the diorthosis was made by consulting another manuscript, was the collation copy defective at this point?

This omission acquires special interest in view of *Σ rec.* 641a, according to which the number of verses in the scene beginning with 641 and ending with 770 equals 129 iambic trimeters: *οἱ δὲ στίχοι ἰαμβικοὶ τρίμετροι ἀκατάληκτοι ρκθ'.* However, 130 verses are transmitted. The scholion is Triklinian, cf. Koster, *Around d'un manuscrit* 119, 129 ff., but it cannot be ruled out that its source was ancient. Opinions about the origin of this discrepancy are split. It has been thought to reflect either a simple error in counting or a manuscript which did in fact contain one verse less. The omission of 712 in R (see the note below) came in handy for those holding the latter view. The fact that we now have an ancient copy of *Plutus* short of one line may indicate that more copies sharing the same defect circulated in antiquity. This makes it all the more likely that the scholion derives from a faulty manuscript; which line was dropped in the metrician's copy it is not possible to guess.

650 ]ς: εἰς AUε: ἐς rell. We find εἰς in the next verse, and this may be what the papyrus had. It is not easy to decide which reading to adopt. In 651 the same phrase appears, but the context is different; there ἐς τὴν κεφαλὴν has been thought to be an 'imprecation de forme fixe' (Koster, op. cit. 241). Coulon has argued that in such set phrases ἐς should be preferred, see 4516 1669 n. Here Karion does not use the collocation in the same sense as the stock phrase. But he probably makes a pun on the set phrase, and perhaps his pun would not have been so much to the point, if he had used εἰς. The latter would be preferable if this play on words had not existed. For a strong view in favour of reading εἰς in all spoken parts of Comedy cf. C. F. L. Austin, *CQ* NS 23 (1973) 133.

651 εἰς: so U: ἐς rell. Triklinios preferred to make a distinction between the two forms and keep ἐς only here. For the reasons stated in the previous note I would again favour the idea that Aristophanes wrote ἐς.

653 ἀφικομεθα: so codd. plerique: ἀφικόμεθα R (unmetrical).

658 λ[ο]υμενος: so R<sup>1</sup>VAMt: λουόμενος R<sup>2</sup>U. I restore *exempli gratia*. λουόμενος is a mere banalisation. The Atticists condemned the use of λούομαι, cf. the scholion ad loc. and Moeris s.v.

660 ποππαν[α]. The scribe initially wrote ποπαπανα, a dittography, and the corrector deleted the first alpha. I think he must have cancelled also the preceding pi, i.e. the text after his intervention would have been πο[π]α[π]α. But this pi is mostly broken, and no trace of the corrector's pen survives.

661 πελαγός: so R: πέλανος rell. The accent was apparently disputed in antiquity. Herodian (1.178) makes the word oxytone, and it is written so in this papyrus, and by implication in the papyrus of Herondas

4.91 πέλανον (the grave indicates that the accent should not fall on the antepenultimate). But medieval manuscripts often make it proparoxytone, cf. Fraenkel on A. Ag. 96.

662 κατεκλίναμεν RVM: κατεκλίνομεν AUs.

664–5 mrg. The *siglum* in the left-hand margin opposite the line-space between 664 and 665 seems to be a forked *paragraphos*. This is suggested by a trace in black ink visible further to the right and at the same level as the branches that we see to the left. The reason for its presence here may be to set off the major speech that follows.

665 με[ν: so codd. plerique: μέντοι V. Spacing excludes that the metrically impossible μέντοι was written on the papyrus.

668 απ[: ἀποσβέσας codd. plerique: ἀποσβέσαι R, a mere scribal slip.

669 π[αρηγγειλεν]. I restore the correct form with RAMt by reason of space; VUK omit the nu ephelkystikon to the detriment of the metre. But with a handwriting as irregular as this considerations of space may well be misleading.

670 πρόπο[λος: so R: πρόσπολος VAMUt. Eustathius, *In Od.* 1560.16 quotes πρόσπολος from this play. The metre would allow either form here. The sense also is not decisive: in E. Cys. both forms appear in accordance with the requirements of the metre: πρόσπολος in 76, but προσπόλους in 83 with reference to the Satyrs, servants of the Cyclops. But Aristophanes uses πρόσπολος in two other passages, where it is metrically guaranteed: in Nu. 436 (v.l. πρόσπ-) for the ministers of the Clouds, and in fr. 705.3 for the minister of Phoibos.

672 ξδυνά[μην: so RAUt: ἡδυνάμην VM *contra metrum*.

673 αθα[ρ, c: ἀθάρης MUsΣ<sup>V</sup>: ἀθάρας RVAΣ<sup>R</sup>. Cf. Σ<sup>V</sup> Ἀττικοὶ διὰ τοῦ η, ἀθάρης, ἥ δὲ κοινὴ διὰ τοῦ α, ἀθάρας.

700–2 Only the most meagre traces of ink are preserved on the rubbed surface. The restored text rests largely on considerations of space.

705 ζυ: om. U.

707 ε]υθυσ: ἐγὼ μὲν εὐθὺς V: εὐθὺς ἐγὼ μὲν RAMUt. The word-order in manuscripts other than V mars the metre; its origin is a simple transposition, cf. Koster, *op. cit.* 185. The papyrus had the correct word-order.

νεκα[λ]υ[ψ]άμην[ν: ἐνεκαλυψάμην RVP20: συνεκαλυψάμην AMUt. The doubtful letter cannot without difficulty be read as ε. The lower traces would suggest α; but the upper trace, if not delusory, seems not to suit that, though it may be consistent with the right-hand part of the cap of ε. If the papyrus had αν-, that is a new reading, but corrupt (it would be senseless in the context). If it had εν-, it preserves the correct text. ἐνεκαλυψάμην is guaranteed by ἐγκεκαλύφθαι in 714. συνεκαλυψάμην, which mars the metre, may stem from a misdivision of the *scriptio continua*. P<sub>8</sub> reads εὐθὺ συνεκαλυψάμην; if it does not derive from a Byzantine emendation, as Koster thought (*op. cit.* 18, 214), it may hark back to the initial stage of the corruption. It is worth mentioning that Blaydes reports that G reads ἀνεκαμψάμην. G is a copy of V and usually has no independent value for the text. If Blaydes is to be trusted, the reading is curious, especially if the papyrus had ἀνεκαλυψάμην.

710 θυτίδιον: so R: θυεΐδιον *rell.* Etymologically we expect θυεΐδιον from original θυεΐα (Kühner-Blass, *Grammatik* II 278), and some ancient authorities recognised this (Herodian 2.457.18). But θυτίδιον is transmitted by Pollux (10.103) and the *Suda* (θ 540; [v.l. –εΐδ–]). We should probably prefer the etymological spelling; –ΐδιον may be a plain iotacistic error, or reflect the alternative spelling θυΐα.

712 το κ[ιβωτ]ι[ο]ν: so O<sub>4</sub>W<sub>4</sub>: τό γε κιβώτιον codd. The omission of the particle is unmetrical. The agreement of these two *recentiores* with the papyrus is interesting; but it may only be a coincidence.

715 ] ειν: εἶχεν οὐκ ὀλίγας Vt: οὐκ ὀλίγας εἶχε (–εν U) RAMU. Only the word order of Vt preserves the metre. What I read on the papyrus does not match either transmitted version, and the trace before ειν is too small to give a further clue; at times I thought I could see the top of a rising oblique, which would suit χ, but this is far from certain. Perhaps we should reckon with a simple mistake and restore εἶ]χε{ι}ν (cf. τ{ι} ἀχιστα in 653), unless the scribe wrote εχεν (transposition). In any case, the word order of the papyrus was not that of Vt.

717 ε]μβαλων: so RAMU (correctly): ἐκβαλὼν V.

720 mrg. δριμντατω. Cf. Σ<sup>R</sup> (...) τῶ δριμντάτῳ, and Hesychius, s.v. ὄξος Cφήττιον, ἤγουν δριμύ.

721 εκ[: ἐκτρέψας RV: ἐκστρέψας AMUt. Editorial preferences are at variance. A. v. Bamberg, *Exercitationes criticae in Aristophanis Plutum* (1869) 4 and van Leeuwen defend ἐκστρέψας; *contra* Holzinger and many before him.



724 κατα[π]επ[λασμένον: κατα-- om. V unmetrically.

725 τα[ς: so RVM<sup>2</sup>U: τῆς AM<sup>1</sup>t. 725 after Coulon runs ἔν' ἐπομνύμενον παύσω σε τὰς ἐκκλησίας. The genitive, which can only be associated with παύσω, creates difficulty with the syntax, and gives inferior sense. That παύσω may have triggered the corruption cannot be excluded. (I rule out that the papyrus had ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις, raised to the status of a *varia lectio* by Bergk on the false presumption that it is attested in the scholia.)

727 Πλου]τωνι: so codd. Meineke's Πλούτω 'τι (=ἔτι), adopted by Coulon, is unfortunate, cf. Holzinger ad loc.

729 ημιτύ]μβιον: so RVAM<sup>1</sup>U: ἡμιτύμβιον M<sup>2</sup>tSΣ<sup>RΛ</sup>. The papyrus testifies that the corruption had already taken place in antiquity. According to Pollux, 7.71 the word is of Egyptian origin; but this may simply mean that its origin was obscure. The word is found spelt as ἡμιτύμβιον also in other authors, perhaps under the influence of τύμβος, ἐπιτύμβιον, etc. For LSJ s.v. 'probably this form is due to the copyists, who wished to find a meaning in the word', but this statement is perhaps too restrictive. ἡμιτύμβιον was treated as a word in its own right, and interpretations of it can be found in the *Suda* (η 353) and other lexica.

mrg. ἡμιτύμβιον ῥάκος|η. . . The correct form is written in the margin, not as a *varia lectio* but introducing a gloss; cf. Σ vel 729 h ῥάκος ἡμιτριβές. ἡμι[τριβές cannot be confirmed from the traces. (ῥάκος was suggested by Dr. Rea.).

736 [ως] γε μοι[ι: ὥς γέ μοι RM<sup>2</sup>Σ<sup>Ald</sup>: ὥς γ' ἐμοί V: ὥς τ' ἐμοί AM<sup>1</sup>Ut: ὥς ἐμοί P20. ὥς τ' has its root in a common graphic error.

738 δεσποί]ν' ἀνίστηκ[ει: δέσποιν' ἀνειστήκει P20<sup>ac</sup>: δέσποιν' ἀνεστήκει RVKVb3t: -ν' ἐστήκει Np1: -νά γ' ἐστήκει AEMUVs1Θ. ἀνίστηκ[ει is a phonetic version of ἀνειστήκει; it is curious that the corrector left the iotacism unchanged, whereas all other errors of this type have been corrected. The papyrus thus confirms the antiquity of the reading of P20<sup>ac</sup>, adopted by most editors following a correction of Meineke—the results of Koster's collation of P20 became known only in the 1950s (Blaydes reports that O3 and Ld4 offer ἀνειστήκει; I have not seen Ld4, but O3 has γ' ἐστήκει).

N. GONIS

#### 4521. ARISTOPHANES, *PLUTUS* 687–705, 726–31, 957–70

Fr. 1 A 168/2(c)+65 6B.30/M(2)a

Fr. 1 5.2 × 9.9 cm

Second century

Fr. 2 65 6B.30/M(2)a

Plate XVI

Fr. 3 1 B.210/G(c)

Three (fr. 1 is made up of two contiguous pieces) fragments of what used to be an elegant roll. As the different inventory numbers indicate, they were not discovered together; but we know from Grenfell and Hunt's diaries that in their sixth excavation season they returned to the mounds partly dug up in the first (this point will be discussed in a forthcoming paper by Dr R. A. Coles). Frr. 1 and 3 preserve c. 4 cm of the intercolumnium; fr. 2 has 1.7 cm of the top margin extant. The writing is along the fibres. The back is blank.

Twenty verses separate the end of fr. 1 (706; the last preserved verse is 705, but there is a trace of marginal annotation opposite the place where 706 should have stood) from the beginning of fr. 2 (726), which is a column top. These twenty verses, or at least part of them, either (i) formed one column, or (ii) belonged to the column from which fr. 1 comes. If (i), the written height would be c. 10 cm; the height of the roll would hardly be more than 15 cm and the papyrus would be classified among those of

‘small format’. E. G. Turner (XLI **2944** introd.) remarks that this format was used in the first and second centuries for copying poetry; of the examples he adduces none can be dated after the early decades of the second century (see also *GMAW*<sup>2</sup> 21, 39, 41; LIV **3725**). Turner also suggests that this format is rather suitable for ‘de luxe’ rolls. Our papyrus has no less luxurious pretensions than the examples he cites, but it should be noted that all hitherto published annotated papyri are of a more or less ‘standard’ format. (The most recent discussion of the issue of ‘pocket rolls’ is by W. A. Johnson, *The Literary Papyrus Roll* (Diss. Yale 1992) 235 and n. 44.) If we opt for (ii), it follows that fr. 1 and 2 belong to two consecutive columns. Fr. 1 comes from a column that contained at least 39 verses (687–725). If we assume that the full height of a column averaged 38 verses, so that 687 stood at or very near the top, 1–686 would fit neatly into eighteen columns, and fr. 1 and 2 would originally belong to the 19th and the 20th columns, with the whole play occupying no fewer than 32 columns. Written height could be calculated at c. 19 cm (on average letter-height and interlinear space are 2 and 3 mm respectively). Allowing at least 6 cm for upper and lower margins together, the height of the roll would then be at least 25 cm, which is fairly common, cf. W. A. Johnson, *CP* 88 (1993) 47. Supposing that throughout the roll intercolumnia had the same width, which never fell below 4 cm, and that the maximum line-length was c. 9.5 cm, the length of the roll may be estimated to be at least 4.30 m. But of course all these calculations assume the minimum possible column-height; other arrangements would easily be possible (e.g. 40 lines per column gives a neat result too, 1–724 = 18 columns).

The papyrus is written in a medium, upright, rounded hand, generally bilinear. Thin horizontals contrast with thick uprights and (sometimes) obliques. There is rich ornamentation in the form of hooks or blobs. The crossbars of  $\epsilon$  and  $\theta$  are usually extended to the right;  $\nu$ , made in a single stroke, has a looped base;  $\phi$  has its bowl diamond-shaped. The script is assignable to the second century, perhaps around its middle. One may adduce for comparison *GLH* 11b (AD 94), although the presence of shading here points to a later date. The marginal notes are written in a smallish book hand, which may well be that of the original scribe. The formal handwriting of the *marginalia* is exceptional. McNamee cites only four papyri written before the third century and annotated in such book-hands; like our piece, these papyri were provided with generous margins too (*MC* 10).

The scribe added a rough breathing (Turner’s form 3) (963), an acute accent (694), and a high point (965). He used systematically, but not fully, *dicola* at verse-ends to designate changes of speaker. Elision, where required, is marked by apostrophe. Iota adscript is not written in one case (692), whereas in another case its addition may be inferred (see 727 n.).

This papyrus is the earliest annotated manuscript of Aristophanes. There is no way of knowing whether the scribe copied the whole play first, leaving generous space

between columns, perhaps with a view to the subsequent marginal additions, as e.g. in V 841 (Pindar, *Paeans*), or wrote the annotations before proceeding to copy the next column. In the latter case we may think of an exemplar equipped with marginal notes. As for their ultimate source, this is likely to have been an hypomnema. The three-line note on 701 ff., as well as the discursive nature of the comment on 959 (and possibly 690), presuppose something more extensive than a simple glossary. Like most of the annotated papyri of Aristophanes, some of the notes show affinities to the medieval scholia. It is also to be noted that marginalia of similar length are rather unusual at so early a date, cf. McNamee, *MC* 190.

Another interesting feature of the papyrus is the assignments of lines to speakers. In both cases that these are preserved (959, 965), they are not made in the customary way of inserting a (usually abbreviated) *nota personae* in the left-hand margin. Instead, they appear as notes in the right-hand margin, and thus appear to be part of the annotation rather than conventional *notae personarum*. This practice is very little in evidence in the papyri (mostly in cases of *antilabe* within the same verse, cf. W. Schubart, *Das Buch*<sup>3</sup> 79), but finds parallels in the Byzantine scholia. There the discussions on correct part assignments indicate that 'the attribution of words to speakers was from the first treated by ancient commentators as a matter of interpretation, open to debate in any given case' (Dover, *Text* 254).

This is the oldest manuscript of *Plutus* to be published. The text offers variants (one unique at 967) and a speaker attribution (965) not generally accepted. There is a slight coincidence between fr. 2 and part of 4520.

## Fr. 1

. . .

προυδιδ]α[ξατο  
 μ]ου τον[  
 κυριξ]ας εγω  
 690 ω]ν οφικ οδ[  
 α]νερπας[εν . . [ c. 5] . [c. 4] δορυε . [  
 ]ς' ηκυχη  
 δριμυ]τερον γαλης  
 πολ]λην εφλων αντ(ι του) εθλων  
 695 ]ομην ημην  
 ο]υδεπω  
 δ]ητα τι  
 ]μεγα παν[υ  
 επε]φυσητο μ[ου

700 εβδ]ελυττε[το  
 ακολουθο]υς' αμα ]αυται Ασκληπιου  
 απες]τραφη ]κ(αι) η Πανακεια[  
 λιβανωτ]ον γαρ βδεω ]ι απο της ιατρ[ικης  
 εφρ]οντισειν  
 τ]ον θεο[ν ]ατημελ[  
 705 ] . [

690–1 mrg. We have beginnings of two lines of annotation. The second line might either continue the first, or represent a separate note (on 691). The sinuous horizontal which runs between the beginnings of the lines might serve to mark the separation. οδ[ at least should refer to 690. There ὁδὰξ ἐλαβόμεν and παρείας ὄφει are glossed in the extant scholia. Likeliest perhaps is that οδ[ refers to ὁδὰξ: οδ[οντι or some other form of ὁδοῦς? In 691 the only word that has attracted comment is ἀνέπαρεν, but what the scholia give is of no help in recovering what the papyrus offered.

692 ]ς': ἐντυλίζας' RAMU: συντυλίζας' V, which is not very appropriate.

694 mrg. ἀντ(ι τοῦ) ἔθλων. Cf. Σ *vet.* 694a ἀντὶ τοῦ ἥσθιον; 694b καὶ γὰρ φλᾶν τὸ θλᾶν.

It is not clear whether the abbreviation employed, αντ<sup>ς</sup>, stands for ἀντ(ι) or ἀντ(ι τοῦ). ἀντί, accompanied or not by τοῦ, is standard in commentators' jargon for '(this word is used) instead of' (E. G. Turner, *MH* 33 (1976) 5), as a means of introducing a gloss. It is well represented in the papyri, and of course in the scholia of the Byzantine manuscripts. It occurs in both hypomnemata and marginal notes, in most cases written in shortened form, usually as α<sup>ν</sup> or α<sup>ς</sup> or αν<sup>τ</sup>, cf. K. McNamee, *Abbreviations in Greek Literary Papyri* s.vv. ἀντί, ἀντὶ τοῦ. I have not found this particular abbreviation elsewhere. The short sinuous stroke placed high after τ appears regularly in documentary writing to mark a suspension, regardless of what letters are actually omitted at the word-end; for examples in the annotation of literary texts see McNamee, *op. cit.* xvi.

695 ]ομην: ἀνεπαυόμην MUR<sup>VP</sup> V<sup>VP</sup>: ἀνεπαλλόμην RV. There is no way of knowing the papyrus' reading. ἀνεπαλλόμην probably stems from a graphic mistake.

695 mrg. ημην is a gloss for ἦν; cf. Σ *vet.* 29a ἀντὶ τοῦ ἡμην ἀττικῶς (similarly on 77). On the gradual replacement of ἦν by ἡμην from the Hellenistic period onwards see B. G. Mandilaras, *The Verb in the Greek Non-Literary Papyri* §§ 103, 109. Remarkably, the gloss is not preceded by ἀντὶ (τοῦ).

697 δ]ητα: om. V *contra metrum*.

701 ff. mrg. The note is mutilated and its interpretation is puzzling. No more than two letters were lost from the beginning of each line, but the amount of text lost to the right is impossible to estimate precisely. But if my speculations below have any chance of being right, the break to the right must have taken away at least ten letters.

The first word of the marginalia, αῦται, should refer to the female deities appearing in the temple, Iaso and Panakeia. What follows should be a comment on their association, or perhaps family connection, with Asklepios. For example, αῦται Ασκληπιοῦ θυγατέρες, possibly accompanied by a verb such as λέγονται; for the wording cf. Σ *rec.* 701c θυγατέρες Ασκληπιοῦ Ἰασώ, Πανάκεια καὶ Ὑγεία. In the second line κ(αί) perhaps connects Panakeia with Iaso (or Hygieia, her other sister, who does not appear in the temple scene but is mentioned in the scholia); but this is only a possibility.

In the third line ιατ. [ , given the context, recalls words such as ἱατρός or ἱατρική; we might restore ἀπὸ τῆς ἱατρ[ικῆς. The scholia mention that Iaso was not considered as Asklepios' daughter in Aristophanes' *Amphiaraios*, and stress that her association with Asklepios relies on the etymological implications of her name; Σ *vet.* 701d α. has παρὰ τὸ ἱᾶσθαι, whereas 701d β. gives παρὰ τὴν ἱακιν ὀνομασμένην. It may thus be that this note is of etymological nature, and ιατ. [ could refer to Iaso, although in that case ἱακίς or ἱᾶσθαι would be preferable; but there is no way of determining whether it contained any reference to the problems regarding Iaso's relation with Asklepios. The verb of the sentence, which is broken away, possibly preceded ἀπό; ]ι might be the last letter of a verb-ending (third person singular/plural). On the assumption that etymology



was highlighted, perhaps ὠνόμαστα]ι (cf. above Σ *vet.* 701d β.) or κέκλητα]ι or something similar in sense should be understood. It is also noticeable that the reference to Iaso is at the end of the note, as in the scholia.

703 Ink is discernible above the end of omega, but I am not clear as to whether it is a high point, which would normally be expected a little further to the right, or stray ink.

704 εφρ]οντιςεν: so RUV: -ε A.

705 mrg. ]αττημελ[. Probably ]αττημελ[ῆ or ]αττημέλ[ητον, glossing ἄγροικον (but forms in the nominative cannot be ruled out). These words first appear in classical poetry (Aeschylus, Euripides), but are also widely distributed in the prose writers of the Roman period. I have not found this gloss in the transmitted scholia nor elsewhere in the lexicographic tradition.

## Fr. 2

(Top)

τ]ις εςθ' [

ταυτ]α τω[ι] Πλουτ[ωνι

πρωτ]α μιν δη τη[ς

καθα]ρον ημιτ[υβιον

730 βλεφαρ]α περιεψης[εν

κατεπετ]ας' αυτοῦ τη[ν

. . . . .

727 ταυτ]α: so V: τοῦτο RAMU<sup>t</sup> edd. Editors have favoured τοῦτο. But cf. V. Bers, *Greek Poetic Syntax in the Classical Age* (1984) 22: 'μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα occurs far more often than μετὰ τοῦτο'. The same disagreement among the mss. is also observed in 678, but note that in 697 V reads τοῦτο with the rest of the mss. In 707 all mss. read μετὰ ταῦτα.

τω[ι]: The amount of space in the lacuna indicates that iota adscript must have been written.

728 δη: om. R *contra metrum*.

731 ]ας': κατεπέτας' AMU<sup>t</sup> edd.: κατέπας' R: κατέπας' V. καταπετάννυμι is the only verb that could be used with a φοινίκις. V's reading might derive from καταπλαστόν in 716. The reading of R is unmetrical.

## Fr. 3

. . . . .

πονηρ]ου [κομ]μα[τος

]ξῆ τον θεον'

]

οι]κίαν

γραυς εστιν η λεγουσα

τουτ]ου θεου προς τον χορον

960 ημ]αρτηκαμεν:

] αφιγμενη

] ὥρικως:

αντ(ι του) κατ[α καιρον

κ]αλεσω τινα:

εξε]ληλυθα'

ο θεραπων

965 λ]εγειν εχρην  
 παραν]ομα φιλτατε  
 967 ] . . [ ]  
 ] . [ ] .  
 ] βιον  
 969 ευκ]οφαντ[ρια  
 970 . . . .

958 ]ξη: προσεύξη VAMUS: προσδέξη R. προσεύξη is expected after Dikaïos made clear his objective in 827–8 saying *πρὸς τὸν θεὸν | προσευξόμενος ἦκω*. Another supporting factor is that the rare construction of *προσεύχομαι* with the accusative seems to have attracted the attention of grammarians, as emerges from Thomas Magister and the *Suda* (π 2654).

958a There is a blank space separating 958 from 959. 958 represents the end of an act and 959 the beginning of another. We may think that some sort of distinction was intended here. It is equally possible, however, that something was written in the part now lost (our fragment preserves only line-ends). The manuscripts of the Triklinian recension (and no other manuscripts, see Koster, *Autour d'un manuscrit* 121 ff.) here have XOPOY, while the Triklinian scholion on 850 testifies to the presence of XOPOY at this point. XOPOY is written at act-endings in almost all mss. of *Plutus*, though not consistently. It thus appears likely that XOPOY was written in our papyrus, which becomes the oldest manuscript of Aristophanes to attest it.

The insertion of XOPOY between acts is a well documented practice in papyri carrying dramatic texts, especially of New Comedy, from the third century BC onwards (for a discussion of the papyrological evidence see E. Pöhlmann, *WJA NF* 3 (1979) 69 ff.; for the issue of the Chorus in fourth century Comedy see K. S. Rothwell, *GRBS* 33 (1993) 209 ff. with bibliography). According to the *Vita*, Aristophanes put in XOPOY to rest the actors and allow for mask-changing (Test. I 52 ff. K–A; the apparatus of K–A cites further evidence). If the information supplied by the *Vita* is reliable, we have good reason to believe that XOPOY was regularly written in *Plutus* papyri.

XOPOY must have been positioned in the middle of the line (written without spaces?) as is usually the case. It is improbable that the less frequently attested XOPOY MEΛOC was written; otherwise the last letters of MEΛOC might have survived.

959 mrg. Compare Σ<sup>VE</sup> *πρὸς τὸν χορὸν τῶν γερόντων ἢ γραῦς*; it is an easy assumption that the transmitted scholion recalls a tradition to which the papyrus' annotation belongs. For the wording cf. also Σ *vet.* on 222: *πρὸς τὸν θεράποντά φησι (τὸ ἔθι).* XXXV 2741 1c ii 6–7 (Eup. fr. 192.149 f.) (*πρὸς τ[ὸν] δεσπότην ὁ Ὑπέρβολος*) allows us to assert that this type of attribution goes back to ancient commentaries. Cf. also 4508 10–11.

That the speaker is noted here conforms to the convention of identifying a new speaker on his/her first appearance, cf. J. C. B. Lowe, *BICS* 9 (1962) 30.

963 mrg. The traces permit restoring κατ[ὰ καιρόν, which is one of the glosses the scholia (963d) and the *Suda* (ω 622) offer for ὠρικῶς. LSJ s.v. καιρός III render κατὰ καιρόν as 'at the proper time'; but it is doubtful whether this is the most appropriate interpretation. LSJ s.v. ὠρικός II translate 'so maidenly, so prettily', which is slightly odd, since elsewhere the point is youth and ripeness, as e.g. at *Ach.* 272 ὠρικὴν ἔληφόρον. There must be a pun in the passage. The chorus after calling the γραῦς a μειρακίσκη continues with πυνθάνει γὰρ ὠρικῶς. This may be taken to mean (a) you ask the question opportunely (since you have in fact arrived); or (b) you ask the question like a fine young girl (but she is a γραῦς). (b) is preferable in terms of comic effect, in its comically inappropriate application to a γραῦς. This is more or less the sense of νεωτερικῶς, another of the glosses (963a); cf. also the elaborate *scholia recentiora* (963d).

965 mrg. ο θεράπων. As the attribution is part of the annotation, a more elaborate construction is preferred. Compare PBodmer XXVIII ii 20 (ed. E. G. Turner, *MH* 32 (1975) 1 ff.), where ο ατλας is written in the right-hand margin; for the use of the article cf. also M. *Dysk.* 189 (left margin) in PBodmer IV η κορη θυγατηρ κνημ'. θεράπων is employed of Karion with varying degrees of frequency in AMd1Np1Vs1 (Dover, *Text* 260).

The papyrus coincides with RV in assigning this verse to Karion, whereas AMU assign it to Chremylos. Dover observes that V, which in this act eliminates Chremylos from the scene altogether, must follow a line of transmission deriving from ancient sources (op. cit. 256); this is now confirmed. The assignment of 965 to Karion is probably wrong, see Holzinger ad loc. Although Karion's presence would exemplify the *ante portas* motif, a typical scene in Comedy (for a discussion of the relevant passages in Aristophanes see I. E. Stefanis, 'Ο δοῦλος στὶς κωμωδίες τοῦ Ἀριστοφάνη (1980) 83 ff.; also O. Taplin, *The Stagecraft of Aeschylus* (1977) 340 f.), this seems difficult at this point. In those scenes the master is called out shortly afterwards, but that does not happen here.

966 *εχρην*: so VA: *ε' εχρην* RM: *εε χρην* U. Most editors read *ε' εχρην* (for *χρην*/*εχρην* see Barrett on E. *Hipp.* 1072-3). The pronoun may have been interpolated (*Pl.* 57 has *λέγειν χρην ταχὺ πάνυ*), but likewise its omission, inasmuch as it involves only one letter, would not have been difficult. Similar variants appear in *Pl.* 432 and *Av.* 1201; other doubtful passages include *Pax* 1041, *Pl.* 406, 607, 624.

967 *παρ[αν]ομα φίλτατε: παράνομ' ὦ φίλτατε* codd. The papyrus' reading is not unmetrical. J. A. Scott, *AJP* 26 (1905) 40 noted that Aristophanes sometimes omits the interjection in cases of 'poetic reminiscence or parody', and indeed Rau qualifies 967 as paratragic (*Paratragodia* (1967) 209). But ὦ φίλτατε, a common form of address in tragedy, is often employed by Aristophanes, especially in passages where paratragedy can be detected (Rau, op. cit. 144). The few instances where the vocative stands alone can be explained by the context or the metre. The omission of the interjection, therefore, does not appear to be justifiable by Aristophanic usage. (For a discussion of the use of ὦ with vocatives see E. Dickey, *Greek Forms of Address* (1996) 199 ff.) Perhaps some scribe eliminated the somewhat unusual run *παρανομωφίλτατε*, especially if the elision was not marked in his exemplar, in favour of one more familiar.

Between 967 and 969 there are scanty traces from two lines; apparently the papyrus had an extra line. It is worth recalling *Σ rec.* 959a, which reports 84 iambs between 959 and 1041, one more than we have in the transmitted text: οἱ δὲ στίχοι ἱαμβικοὶ τρίμετροι ἀκατάληκτοι π'δ' (π'γ' L<sup>pc</sup>). Nothing seems to have dropped out of the text as we know it; but in view of what little remains, it is impossible to pronounce a judgment in favour of an early interpolation or an accident in the transmission. (For another peculiar verse counting see 4520 648 n.).

N. GONIS

#### 4522. NEW COMEDY: ?MENANDER

43 5B.66/E (2-4)a

3 × 24 cm

First/second century

Plate XVIII

Ends of twenty-two lines of a comedy in a small, upright round hand, assignable to the late first or early second century AD, are given by this narrow strip from a roll with both upper and lower margins surviving, to the extent of 3.5 and 7.5 cm respectively—perhaps therefore to approximately the original dimensions—and with the written area 13 cm tall. Very similar in script, but somewhat less generous in format, is another fragment from Oxyrhynchus with 29 line-endings from a comedy in a surviving written area of about 14.5 cm, namely inv. 33 4B.83/E (8-11); see *BICS* 31 (1984) 25-31 with Plate 1, where a number of palaeographical parallels are quoted, and an ascription to Menander, *Sikyonios* is proposed, as is noted in Sandbach, *Menandri reliquiae selectae*<sup>2</sup> (1990) 346. In 4522 the resolution in γε]γαμηκότι (4) confirms the

presence of iambic trimeters rather than trochaic tetrameters, which would probably have given less even endings. See LXII 4304 (p. 11 and n.) and L 3540 (p. 80 and n.): as it happens, the latter is another narrow strip with iambic line-endings; the script, though somewhat less formal, is comparable; the height is 25 cm, with upper and lower margins of 2.5 and 3.5 cm respectively, and 36 lines in 19 cm.

The depth of the lower margin, by contrast with L 3540, for example, and by comparison with X 1239, suggests that this may be the end of the play. In the case of 1239 (Austin, *CGFP* 249) all doubt was removed when the presence of the formulaic invocation to Victory, as known from the ending of Menander's *Dyskolos* and other plays, was eventually recognized by Corbato, in his discussion of the piece in *Studi Menandrei* (Trieste, 1965) 89–119, and independently by Handley, 'Notes on the *Sikyonios* of Menander', *BICS* 12 (1965) 62, n. 22. See the commentary below on 14 and 20–22. In the present case, the suspicion aroused by the format is reinforced by clues from the content, in spite of damage to the crucial words for 'torch' (14) and 'applause' (20) and the theoretical ambiguity between 'goddess' and 'sight' in 21. The resemblances with the surviving endings of plays known to be by Menander (exiguous though the present text is) raise a presumption that this was a copy of a play by him, or by someone who followed his formula closely; I have not noted a coincidence with any other text, and short of that the play's identity seems likely to remain undiscoverable. I have been able to check readings against a preliminary transcript made by Sir Eric Turner in January 1978, but he must not be held responsible for the interpretations offered. A first presentation of the text and commentary as set out here was given at the Graduate Summer School in Papyrology in Oxford on 12 July 1997.

	]ταφορτίον[	]τα φορτίον	
	]στρεϊσημερα[	]ς τρεῖς ἡμέρα[ς	
	]κακῶν[	]κακῶν	
	]αμηκοτι	γε]γαμηκότι	
	ς		
5	]υν	πο]λύς	5
	]ροσηκεμοι[	π]ροσηκέ μοι	
	]υνη	]υνη	
	]κεισγινετα[	–]κεις γίνετα[ι	
10	]ι:τουθορα[	]ει. ( ) τουθ', ὁρᾶ[ς,	10
	]τεχων	(?) ἄν]τέχων	
	]κοιλεγει	]κοι λέγει	
	]καλον	]καλόν	



	] αἰδαδος	] δᾶδα δός	
15	] ηκοςμο[	]	15
	] νοραις	] ν ὄρας	
	] νονει[ιθι	—] νον εἴ[ς] ιθι	
	] ωμεν· λαβε	—] ωμεν. ( ) λαβέ	
	] ευ . . . . τ . . [	]	
20	] σεμνον ρο . [	κα]ι σεμνὸν κρότ[ον	20
	] ωποςθεα	—] ωπὸς θεά	
	] οἰς	—] οἰς	

1 Perhaps φορτίων, fibres twisted      3 ], dot of high ink, perhaps punctuation      4 ], high horizontal joins α  
 5 End of curved down-sloping diagonal, as for λ, touches upright of ν; above ν, interlinear ink might represent ε as correction; at the end, a paler low fleck which appears not to be ink  
 7 Speck of high ink; cf. 3      9 ]κ, upper and lower arms, possibly χ, not ε      10 Mid-line horizontal joins upright      11 Possibly to be read as —τ' ἔχων without diastole; cf. 10      14 ], part of down-sloping diagonal; if δ, base lost; λ or α could have been written; if κ or χ, the upper part should show; π (for παῖδα) is excluded  
 15 Upright with curved foot joins η; most likely ]μ; at end, μο[ or λο[      16 First, two dots of ink: may be parts of an upright; second, apparently a triangular letter: α suits  
 19 Badly abraded: first, high horizontal with traces of low horizontal and linking diagonal suggest ζ, and the possibility of ω] Ζεῦ δέσποτα: High ink after ν could be top of δ, but the rest, τ apart, is hard to justify, and the last two might well be ος, rather than α:  
 20 After σεμνον, low and high ink, with trace of rising diagonal, as if κ; then a long descender; no clear trace of bow for ρ (though it is very small in this hand) or of riser for φ (which is therefore ruled out), or of horizontal for ψ (which is therefore unlikely); end of high horizontal after ο

1 E.g. φέρων]τα φορτίων: if so, the likeness to the broken line φέρουσα κριθῶν τοῖς ὄνοι[ς, shortly before the end of *Sik.*, at 411, could indicate a kinship of motif, and is accordingly to be noted.

9 (?)...δ δο]κέις γίνεταί, combinable with (ᾗ)παντ' ἔχων in 11; εἰςγίγνομαι is rare and improbable.

10 τοῦθ', ὄρας, ἔφην, at *Perik.* 142/332, illustrates ὄρας in parenthesis, as it may be (but need not be) here.

14 The call for a torch to lead off the procession of the actors, together with garlands for them to wear, is a common motif at the end of a comedy, and can be reckoned among the signs that this piece represents one: see Sandbach on *Dysk.* 964 (6 lines before the end), citing, among other texts, *Mis.* 459/989 (8 lines before), *Sam.* 731 (7 lines before); *Sik.* 418 (6 lines before), together with 1239 (Austin, *CGFP* 249), where garlands are called for 9 lines before the end. δός, rather than ἐκδότω τις or the like, need not be pressed to mean that there is a torch already to hand: one can think of a construction like παιδάριον, ᾧψας] δᾶδα δός; the expected garlands can be written in with equal ease, as can the torch in 1239.

15 E.g. ἡμῶν ἐνδεῆς] μὴ κόσμος[ς ἦ, but the surviving letters admit several quite different articulations.

17 Obvious, though not necessarily right, would be πρὸς ἐκεῖ]νον εἴ[ς] ιθι; and that in turn would lend a certain plausibility to τὴν γὰρ οἰκ]ίαν ὄρας in 16 (but for ὄρας, see on 10). εἴσιθι, at all events, seems inescapable, and can hardly be meant to do anything else at the very end of a play than to send someone to call out another actor who is to join in: hence one can imagine a sequel on the lines of κακκάλεσον αὐτόν, ἵνα συνέλθῃ]ωμεν.

18 f. Possibly λαβέ | τὴνδὶ (the torch of 14). If in the rest of 19 Zeus is invoked (as I cannot verify), it may be a reaction to an entry from the house just visited, like the cry ᾧ Ζεῦ Ὠπτερ, ἐκτόπου θεᾶς at *Dysk.* 690.

20 The word κρότον, though almost lost, seems hard to resist as a reading; the applause appealed for is σεμνός, presumably, because it is to accompany a κῶμος in honour of Dionysus as god of the festival. So at *Knights* 546 f., the cheering that the chorus calls for in favour of Aristophanes is not just boisterous shouting, but θόρυβον χρηστὸν ληναίτην; and similarly, in the appeal to Victory at the end of Euripides, *Phoenissae*, *Orestes* and elsewhere, she is μέγα σεμνή Νίκη, a formula which may have influenced the choice of the present epithet. Νίκη is presumably the '( )-cyed goddess' of 21, with the name appearing in the final line, a pattern that

persists in the recurrent Menandrian formula and its variants (see Sandbach on *Dysk.* 968-9 and *Samia* 736-7, noting also P. Harris II 172). With the aid of borrowing from *Knights* (as above) and *Samia*, one can imagine a conclusion something like this:

ὕμεῖς δ' ἄμ' εὐφραίνεσθε, κα]ῖ σεμνὸν κρότ[ον  
 παραπέμψαθ' ἡμῖν· ἡ δὲ φαιδρ]ωπὸς θεὰ  
 ἔποιτο Νίκη τοῖς ἑμοῖς ἀεὶ χορ]οῖς.

The consideration that θεὰ could be read as θέα, and τηλ]ωπός conjectured, is not one that ought to persist against the counter-indications that the context gives.

E. W. HANDLEY

### 4523. NEW COMEDY

Fr. 1 24 3B.72/C(c)

Fr. 1 3 × 4 cm

Second century

Fr. 2 24 3B.73/M(g)

Plate XV

Fr. 3-5 106/70(a), 106/70(d)(1-2)

Five scraps written in a medium-sized informal round hand of a common type, to be compared with those of the Berlin *Theaetetus* commentary (Schubart, *PGB* 31; Seider, *Pal.* II 40) and P. Mich. inv. 5982 (*ZPE* 2 (1968) Taf. III) and assigned to the second century AD. δ has a broad base; the right-hand side of π is convex; the loop of ρ is tiny; υ is looped at the base; bilinearity is infringed only by ρ and φ. Lectional signs include dicolon (fr. 1.7), high stop (fr. 5.2), apostrophe marking elision, a rough breathing (both fr. 5.7), initial trema (fr. 3.4), and acute accents (frr. 1.7, 3.2, due to a thinner pen). The iota of ωι is added above the line (fr. 3.7). The backs are blank.

Verse-ends are preserved in frr. 1 and 5, those of fr. 1 being recognizable as belonging to a dialogue (change of speaker marked in 7) in iambic trimeters or trochaic tetrameters. ἀ]λλὰ τῷ; at fr. 1.7 points to Comedy rather than Tragedy (see n.), the reference to an all-night festival as a setting for rape at fr. 3.2-3, if the verses are correctly restored and interpreted, to New Comedy in particular (references in Arnott, *Alexis: the fragments*, 516).

Fr. 1 was originally edited by Marcia E. Weinstein as XXXVIII **2827**; it has been re-edited by Austin as *CGFPR* 283, and by Kassel-Austin as *PCG* Adesp. 1116.

Fr. 1

· · ·  
 | [  
 } [  
 | α . . [ ] [  
 ] . οτε ] τ ο τε



7 . [ , dot on line      8 ] ε, cross-stroke on a single fibre with trace of top      . [ , left-hand parts of τ or π: if the latter, only one letter is lost in the lacuna      ] . [ , stroke descending from left

8 ξξ ὄτ[ο]υ looks slightly too short.

## Fr. 3

	·	·	·	
	]ν[.]	ω[.]		
	']	παννυ[		']
	]νβιαζ[			']
	]·	υπο[		']
5	]αμυδακ[			χλ]αμύδα κ[
	]·	φρουρ[		]·
	]κατω`ι´[			
	]·	ιδυ[		
	·	·	·	

1 ]·, upright      . [ , dot on line; surface stained at edge      3 ]·, edge of upright      . [ , upper left arc of circle      4 ]·, lower part of upright, hooked to right, with median and high dots: anomalous, perhaps an altered or deleted letter      . [ , left-hand parts of τ or π      6 ]·, trace level with tops of letters, now resembling right arc of a circle, but abraded, with prima facie a further trace below      . [ , gently rising stroke level with tops of letters: ε and ο both acceptable      7 . [ , dot above level of tops of letters      8 ]·, foot connecting to foot of ι, as of α      υ[ , start of stroke descending from left to right; spacing suggests υ rather than α

2 E.g. τί (the accent as at fr. 1.7). Besides παννυ[χι-, there is (-)]παν νυ[- to be considered, but I can produce nothing plausible with it; TLG has only a few late prose instances of such a sequence.

5 χλ]αμύδα appears certain, none of the other nouns with this termination (ἄμύς, πηλαμύς, χηραμύς) being suited to the context. φρουρ- in the next line suggests that the soldier's and ephebe's 'cloak' (cf. [Arist.] *Ath. Pol.* 42.5, φρουροῦσι (sc. οἱ ἐφηβοί) ... χλαμύδας ἔχοντες; Men. *Sam.* 659 with Gomme-Sandbach's note, Philem. fr. 34.1 KA with Kassel-Austin's note) would not be out of place.

7 `ι´ rather thin, perhaps due to a different hand.

## Fr. 4

	·	·
	[.]	υδ[
	αυτ[	
	κα[	
	αν[	
5	μει[	
	[.]	[
	·	·



1 [.], much narrower than *a* in l. 2      2 τ[, cross-stroke level with tops of letters, with dot in place on line for foot of τ; horizontal trace at mid-letter level where ink has run along a fibre      3 .[, trace of foot of letter ligatured to *a*      4 .[, slightly convex trace in upper half of line      5 .[, trace level with tops of letters      6 ].[, speck level with presumed tops of letters

## Fr. 5

·                      ·  
                     ]            [  
 | *v*·  
 | *τομα*[  
                     ]            [  
 5            | *ων*  
                     | *ης*  
                     | . *οδ'ε*[  
                     | . . [  
 ·                      ·

7 ]., dot level with tops of letters  
 same level

8 ]. .[, cross-stroke level with presumed tops of letters; dot at same level

7 This sequence twice near line end in Comedy (Lync. fr. 1.22 KA τὸ δ' ἔτερος, Men. *Pk.* 121 τὸ δ' ἔτερον).

## IV. DOCUMENTARY TEXTS

### 4524. LIST OF NOMES

A8/2c

7.1 × 5 cm

First half of second century  
Plate XIX

This small fragment is complete at the right and perhaps at the foot, but is very probably incomplete at the top; it is impossible to estimate the loss at the left (though cf. line 2 n.). What survives records the names of five nomes in central and eastern Lower Egypt: Sebennyte, Diopolite, Nesyt, Arabia and Tanite. The papyrus naturally invites comparison with the nome list preserved in XLVII **3362**, a list which originally included all the nomes of Egypt. The part of **3362** which survives records more or less complete lists of the nomes from the Thebaid and from Middle Egypt, a list of eleven nomes from Eastern Lower Egypt, and a further section presumably recording nomes from the rest of Lower Egypt. This last section is almost wholly lost and of the section for Eastern Lower Egypt only six nomes can be identified with certainty. The Tanite is the only nome recorded in the surviving parts of both **4524** and **3362**, though it is likely that the section for Eastern Lower Egypt in **3362** would also have included Arabia and the Nesyt. It is, however, extremely improbable that there would have been room in this section for the Sebennyte and the Diopolite, which are much more likely to have appeared in the following section covering West and Central Lower Egypt. It may well be, therefore, that **4524** was a list of all the nomes in Lower Egypt, not a section only. It may indeed, like **3362**, have been a list of all the nomes of Egypt.

Elsewhere I have argued that **3362** dates from a period when Lower Egypt had been subdivided into two sections, each under its own epistrategus (J. David Thomas, *Roman epistrategos*, 35–9). **3362** is most probably to be assigned to the second half of the second century and is certainly later than AD 136/7 (ibid. 25 n. 62). **4524** is probably earlier than this and may well date from a period when there was only one epistrategus for the whole of Lower Egypt. Palaeographically I should have been inclined to assign **4524** to the second half of the first century: note in particular the way tau is written, with the left-hand half of the cross-bar united in a single stroke with the hasta (cf. also the triangular omicron). There are, however, good reasons for thinking that it belongs no earlier than the reign of Hadrian (see the notes). As such the list falls between the nome list of Pliny (*NH* V 49–50) and the information to be found in Ptolemy (*Geog.* IV 5), and is likely to be contemporary with the so-called nome coins (perhaps better described as nome types), which are attested from year 11 of Domitian to year 8 of Antoninus Pius. For a comprehensive bibliography of work on the Roman coins of Alexandria, including the nome coins, see E. Christiansen, *Proceedings 20th Int. Congress of Papyrology*, 478–83. H. Gauthier, *Les nomes d'Égypte*, is the most detailed survey of the nome coins for their information on the creation and disappearance of nomes, see esp.

pp. 156–73; cf. also A. H. M. Jones, *Cities of the Eastern Roman Provinces*,<sup>2</sup> 313–14. Dr Jennifer Sheridan is currently studying these coins and I am indebted to her for some information.

There are ink traces on the back.

. . .  
] Ζεβ[ε]ννύτης  
] τόπων Διοπολίτης  
] . . . cis καὶ Νεϋτ  
] β[ . . . ] c Ἀραβία  
5     δ             ] Ταγίτης

<sup>1</sup> The Sebennyte nome, situated in the north-central Delta, is attested in all the lists of the Ptolemaic and Roman periods. To the references given in Calderini-Daris, *Dizionario* IV 251–2, Suppl. I 234 and II 186 add SB XX 14590.4. At some point in the first two centuries AD the single Sebennyte nome was divided into two separate nomes, see the next note.

<sup>2</sup> ] τόπων: restore either ἄνω or κάτω. In the papyri the only nomes in Lower Egypt to be qualified by the words ἄνω τόπων or κάτω τόπων are the Upper Sebennyte (VI 931, SB XX 14590; also I. Alex. 29 = SB V 8780) and the Lower Sebennyte (LX 4069, P. L. Bat. XXV 49), apart from a single instance in which an epimeletes of τῶν κάτω τόπων τοῦ Καίτου occurs (UPZ I 110.193), and a possible reference in XII 1435 8 to ἄνω τόπων of Arabia (see the note ad loc.). The expression could, however, be shortened to just ἄνω or κάτω, and we have examples, apart from the Sebennyte, of the Diopolite and Cynopolite nomes in Lower Egypt being described as κάτω to distinguish them from a Diopolite nome and a Cynopolite nome further up the Nile. 4524 cannot be referring to Arabia or the Diopolite and we can safely reject the Saïte, which appears undivided in all the lists and in any case is further west than the other nomes in our text. Unless therefore we have an unattested name for a nome, we must choose between the Lower Cynopolite and the Upper and Lower Sebennyte. The Lower Cynopolite is attested in XVII 2136 3, XLIX 3477 5–6 and P. Münch. III 138.3 (where see the note), but all these texts are from the later third and fourth centuries and the nome does not appear on the nome coins nor in Ptolemy. It is very probable that it was in existence by 209, cf. XLVII 3345 50 with the note ad loc., but it may well not have been created by the date of 4524 and it has not so far been attested with the addition of τόπων to κάτω. The most probable solution therefore is that our text referred at this point to either the Upper or the Lower Sebennyte. To restore simply Ζεβ[ε]ννύτης [ἄνω] τόπων or Ζεβ[ε]ννύτης [κάτω] τόπων, however, would make the lines very short. Possibly we should restore Ζεβ[ε]ννύτης [ἄνω τόπων Σεβεννύτης κάτω] τόπων (or vice versa), though it is worth remarking that in the enumeration of the nomes in Ptolemy IV 5.50–51 these two nomes do not follow one another directly. In support of restoring here a reference to the Lower Sebennyte we may note that the lists in P. Ryl. IV 616 include Pachnemunis (which was the name by which the Lower Sebennyte was known in the Byzantine period) immediately before the Diopolite.

However that may be, it seems reasonably safe to take our text as evidence that at the time it was written the Sebennyte had been divided into an upper and a lower section, thus creating two distinct nomes. This division is not to be seen in Pliny's list but is found in Ptolemy, who includes a Σεβεννύτης ἄνω τόπων and a Σεβεννύτης κάτω τόπων. The division of the Sebennyte is first attested in the papyri in II 237 vii 30, which mentions the ἄνω Σεβεννύτης in AD 136. On the Lower Sebennyte see Gauthier, op. cit. 172–3. The latest exactly datable reference to the Sebennyte without the qualification ἄνω or κάτω is in P. Lund V 10 = SB V 8750.32 of AD 98; P. Oxy. Hels. 14 may date from AD 110 but could well be earlier, see lines 3–4 n. This implies that our text dates from between AD 98 and 136. The evidence of the nome coins would seem to support this (apart from Gauthier, see *ZPE* 49 (1982) 239–42): coins from the 11th year of Domitian (91/2) and 13th year of Trajan (109/10) record simply a Sebennyte nome, but in the 11th year of Hadrian (126/7) they also record a Lower Sebennyte, CEBEK. This suggests that there was only one Sebennyte nome until some time between 109/10 and 126/7.

We also need to consider the evidence of XVIII **2199**. In his introduction the editor comments that the text supplies us with a new strategus of the Sebennyte nome and that 'in col. i 23 we may most probably restore the name Iulius Pardalas, who is known as *idios logos* for AD 123 .... Therefore the document may be dated in the reign of Hadrian; in col. ii 12 a thirteenth year occurs, but this may be a year of Trajan'. Only part of this papyrus has been published, but a study of the original confirms the statements of the editor and I should agree that the reading/restoration of [Ἰούλιον Πα]ρδαλᾶν τὸν γενόμε[ε]νον πρὸς τ[ῶ]ι ἰδίῳ λόγῳ is virtually certain. The text should therefore date from after 122/3 when Pardalas was in office (BGU 250 = W. Chr. 87.19–21). The text as published refers only to τῶι ἐκείνου τοῦ νομοῦ στρατηγῶι, but in col. i 7–8 the papyrus has ] ν τοῦ Σεβεννύτου δι' ὧν δ[. The damaged letter at the start might be omega, so that a reading such as τῶν ἄνω τόπων τοῦ Σεβεννύτου is possible but far from certain. It is unclear therefore whether **2199** refers to the Sebennyte as divided or not.

*Διοπολίτης*: on the different Diopolite (or Diospolite) nomes see *JEA* 50 (1964) 141–3. For the Lower Diopolite see Gauthier, op. cit. 165–8. It is not mentioned in Ptolemy. This is very odd, since Ptolemy specifically describes the Diopolite nome in the Thebaid as *Διοπολίτης νομὸς τῶν ἄνω τόπων* (IV 5.67), thus implying the existence of a Diopolite in Lower Egypt. Furthermore, we know from the nome coins that a Lower Diopolite, *ΔΙΟΠΚ*, was in existence by at least 126/7, well before the date at which Ptolemy was writing. It is worth noting that the nome is never attested with the description *κάτω τόπων*; it appears either as *Διοπολίτης Κάτω* (O. Theb. 132 and XXIV **2415** 58; both third century) or as *Διοπολίτης Κάτω Χώρας*: LX **4060** 121 (161) and **4069** 3 (early 3rd cent.). It is not certain that we should supply *Κάτω* (*Χώρας*) at the start of the next line. At least two papyri refer to a nome simply as *Διοπολίτης* without further qualification when they mean the Diopolite in Lower Egypt: P. Ryl. II 427 frag. 2, cf. frag. 1 (late 2nd/early 3rd cent.) and IV 616 (312).

3 ] . *εις καὶ Νεσύτ*: *εις* cannot be the ending of a nome name and in any case, in view of lines 2 and 4, we should not expect *καί* before the name of a new nome. Of geographical names attested in this area of Lower Egypt the most promising is Panephris: this is known to have been the metropolis of the Nesyt nome and was the name by which the area was known from the fourth century onwards, see *Dizionario* IV 37, Gauthier, op. cit. 169–70, and Jones, op. cit. 337 and 343. What survives of the damaged letters before *εις* is consistent with *φν*, so that we may with some confidence suggest the reading *Πανέ]φνεις*. This would be the first occurrence of the name on a papyrus. Why the metropolis should have been mentioned as well as the nome is unclear. A comparable expression cannot have been used in the case of the Diopolite in line 2.

For the Nesyt nome, which was situated somewhere in the north-east Delta, see Gauthier, op. cit. 168–70. It occurs in Ptolemy (IV 5.52), but is not in Pliny. On the coins it is first attested in year 14 of Trajan (110/11). Apart from **4524** the only papyrological references are LX **4060** 40 (161), SB XVIII 13175 = *Archiv* 4, 122 (194), P. Prag. II 123.9 (3rd cent.), P. L. Bat. XXV 49.6 (2nd/3rd cent.) and possibly LXV **4468** recto ii 30 (late 1st cent.).

4 ]β[ . . . ]*ς*: there is no serious doubt over the reading of the top of a large beta, after which there is room for four or at most five letters before the final sigma. There is, therefore, insufficient room to read *Φαρ]β[αιθίτης]ς* or *Βου]β[ακτίτης]ς*, and *Ἀθρι]β[ίτης]ς* is too short; these are the only known nomes which include beta and are situated in this part of Egypt. There would be just enough room for *Κα]β[ακτίτης]ς*, but this nome would be out of geographical order since it belongs much further west. Indeed, the nomes occurring in lines 1–2 belonged to Aegyptus in the fourth century, whereas those occurring in lines 3–5 belonged in Augustamnica. This supports the idea that the list has some geographical basis and that the nomes are being given in an order running from west to east (cf., however, the next paragraph). A possible solution to the problem, suggested by the probable occurrence of Panephris in line 3, is to supply the name of a nome metropolis rather than a nome. There would be enough room to read *Φαρ]β[αίθο]ς* or *Βού]β[ακτο]ς*, which are both in the right geographical area. Note also that the nome list in the Revenue Laws, col. 31, refers to *Βουβακτ[ίτης] καὶ Βουβ[άκ]τωι*, and again in cols. 64–65 it has a paragraph headed *ἐν τῶι Βουβακτίτη καὶ Βουβάκτωι* (which immediately precedes the entry *ἐν τῇ Ἀραβίᾳ*).

*Ἀραβία*: a nome of this name, situated in the east of Lower Egypt, appears in all the lists except Strabo. For its position and extent see the important discussion in LX **4063–7**, introd. The order in which it occurs here is slightly odd, since in some Byzantine lists Panephris=the Nesyt and Tanis=the Tanite are in Augustamnica I, whereas Arabia is in Augustamnica II (see Jones, op. cit. 549).



5 On the Tanite see Gauthier, *op. cit.* 13–16. It lies in the north-east of Lower Egypt and occurs in all the lists. See *Dizionario* IV 354 and Suppl. II 205. The Tanite and Arabia both occur in IV 709, as two of the nomes for which the *conventus* was to be held in Pelusium.

J. DAVID THOMAS

#### 4525. TOWN COUNCIL PROCEEDINGS

3 1B 81/D(4)a

13.8 × 14 cm

c. 331

The papyrus is broken at left and right and at the foot. The amount lost is uncertain, but since no connected sense can be made of what survives, the lines were probably of considerable length (cf. however line 19 n.). It is clear that we have a fragment of the minutes of a town council. Similar papyri are listed in A. K. Bowman, *Town Councils of Roman Egypt*, 32–4; add XLIV **3187**, XLVII **3340**, Stud. Pal. XX 58 (=V 7–9), P. Genova II 67, P. L. Bat. XXIII, pp. 99–100 (=P. Erlang. 18), P. Stras. IX 816, P. Bodl. I 68(a), SB XVIII 13174 (=Archiv 4, 115 ff.) and SB XX 15026. The present papyrus, like most of those just cited, no doubt refers to the council of Oxyrhynchus. On the whole subject see Bowman, *passim*, especially pp. 32–39. We should distinguish verbatim accounts from extracts made from minutes, perhaps for private purposes (cf. Bowman, 37, and **3187**, introd.). The present text falls into the former category. It is probable that the surviving fragment records the minutes of two different meetings (see line 19 n.).

The reference on the second side to the prefect of Egypt Flavius Hyginus serves to date the text approximately to 331. Not much can be gleaned concerning the subjects under debate in our text (see the notes). On topics known to have been discussed in town councils see Bowman, Chap. 4.

The format is particularly interesting. At the top of one side is the number 17 (ιζ) and at the top of the other side the number 18 (ιη); therefore what is preserved is a leaf from a codex, and our text is to be added to the small number of documentary codices which belong to a relatively early date, i.e. to the fourth century. On documentary codices see Jean Gascou in A. Blanchard (ed.), *Les débuts du codex*, 71–101, and Jennifer A. Sheridan, in P. Col. IX, pp. 7–16 (I am grateful to Dr Sheridan for making this information available to me prior to publication). P. Col. IX of the mid 320s is the oldest certain documentary codex; but there is a strong possibility that LX **4075**, which is probably to be dated to 318 and may be even earlier, is a leaf from a codex (see the discussion in the introduction). These are the only documentary codices older than **4525**. It is likely that it comes from a single-quire codex, since most examples from this period are of this type. If so, since ↓ precedes →, what we have is most probably a leaf from the first half of such a codex (see E. G. Turner, *The typology of the early codex*, 65–7). There is a sheet

] ιζ [   
 ] ἵνα τὴν ὕλην ὑποδέξητε τέως [   
 τ]ὰ ἐπιδοθέντα μοι βιβλία ὑπ . . . [   
 ] . περὶ τοῦ μισθοῦ τῶν χαλκέων . [   
 5 ] . [ . . . ] ας φανερώς καταθῆσθαι ητελι [   
 ] οἱ βουλευται) ἐφ(ώνησαν)· σχολάζέτωσαν τοῖς πολιτικ[οῖς   
 ] . ι οὐδεὶς ἐκεῖ ἐργάζεται δε . α . εμ . [ . . . ] . [ . . . ] [   
 ] . γτι ἡμῶν ὑπὸ τοῦ κεφαλαιωτοῦ τ[   
 ] πόλεως . ὁ πρύ(τανις) εἶπ(εν)· . . . ε . ε . . καὶ περὶ τῶν χ[   
 10 ] . ἡθελήσαμεν ὑποδέξασθαι ἐκάστου . ε . . [   
 ] . δας βούλεσθε αὐτοῖς παρασχεθῆναι καὶ [   
 ] ὕλην ἡ εἴκοσι τάλαντα τ . . παλαιαςτι . . [   
 ] . . . γτα εἴκοσι ὀφείλουσι λαβεῖν μόνα . [   
 ] . [ . . . ] . εται ὀφείλουσι [ c. 5 ] λαβεῖν καὶ ἄλλα . [   
 15 ] . c εἶναι τα . [ c. 6 Διος] κο[υ]ρίδης λογιστ[   
 ] ε[ι]π(εν)· ἄλλο τι [ c. 14 ] . . [ . . . ] . ιας ὕλη [   
 ] λ [ ] [ ]

→ ] ιη [ ] λης οὔσης το [.] εἰς συμπλήρωσιν τῶ[ν  
20 ] δεσπότης μου ὁ διασημότατος ἔπ[αρχος  
ὁ π]ρύ[τανις] εἶπ[εν]· τοῦτον ἰδας ἱκανὸν πρὸς τὸ βο[  
]εως ἀμπελοκτῆτορα ὄντα ε. δι. . [.] [ ]  
] λεως καὶ οὐ χρή αὐτὸν εἰς τοῦ[τ]ο ὑποβληθῆ[ναι]  
] ὄρους καὶ νῦν ὑπεβάλατε οὐ λήσονται τη[

- 25 ]βολέας κατὰ ἀκολουθίαν ἀσφο. . γτος[  
 ἔπ]αρχος τῆς Αἰγύπτου Φλάουιος Ὑγείνος περὶ πην. [  
 ἀπ]οστείλας εἰς τοῦτο καὶ ὀφφ(ικιαλιο—) τῆς τάξεως αὐτοῦ κα[  
 ] . μον μετὰ τῶν ἐπὶ κοπῆς τῶν αἰρεθέντων ὑπὸ . [  
 ]εντος στρατιώτου ναῦλα τοῖς πλοίοις παρασχεῖν τοῖς[  
 30 ] . [ . . . ] Ἀπολλώνιος διαση(μότατος) εἶπ(εν)· ὀφίλει ἀπὸ τῶν  
 μερικθ[ντων  
 ]εν χρῆ τὰ ναῦλα ἀπὸ τῶν ἀπαιτηθέντων παρ. . [  
 ] . οἱ βουλ(ευταῖ) ἐφ(ώνησαν)· οὕτω [γενές]θω. ὁ πρύ(τανις)  
 εἶπ(εν)· πρὸ τοῦ . [  
 ] . ναι ὁ λ[ο]γιστῆς[ ± 7 ] . [ . . . ] ἀναγκαι[  
 ]το κατα . [ . ] . θ . [ ± 15 ] υθονες[  
 35 ] . Ἰουλι[νδ]ς λ[

2 ἴνα, ὕλην, ὑποδέξητε; 1. ὑποδέξεται 3 ὑπ 6 οἰβου<sup>λ</sup>εφ/ 8 ἡμῶν corrected from  
 ὕμῶν or vice versa; ὑπο 9 πρῦει' 10 ὑποδεξασθαι 12 ὕλην 16 ]ε[ι]; ὕλη[  
 17 see note 19 το . [ . ] . εἰς: see note 21 ]ρῦει'; ἱκανον 22 ε . δι . : some correction, see  
 note 23 ὑποβληθῇ[ 24 ὑπεβαλατε; υπε corrected from υπο, 1. ὑπεβάλετε 25 κατα, κ  
 corrected from τ 26 φλαουῖος ὕγεινος 27 οφφ/ 28 επι, ε corrected from α 30 διασηει';  
 1. ὀφείλει 32 βου<sup>λ</sup>εφ/; πρῦει' 33 αναγκαι[ 35 ἰουλι[νο]ς

1 For numbers at the head of a column of council minutes see Stud. Pal. XX 58; cf. numbers at the foot of a column in SB XVIII 13174.

2 The reference to ὕλη here and again in lines 12 and 16 suggests that the whole of this side may have dealt with the same subject. It is likely that there was some dispute over payment to workmen, for which we can compare XII 1414, esp. lines 12–16, and in general Bowman, 87–90 and 94–8. What ὕλη means in the present context is not clear. The reference may simply be to wood which is connected in some way with the work being performed by the smiths (line 4); but it is perhaps more likely that we have a reference to a material other than wood. For ὕλη used of metals see J. R. Rea, *ZPE* 35 (1979) 128, where the reading of XXXIII 2673 22 is corrected to χαλκῆν ὕλην, and that of XVII 2106 15–16 to τὴν τ[οῦ] χ[ρ]υσοῦ ὕλην; cf. also P. Col. VII 141.26 and 29, where receipt is acknowledged of payment for χαλκῆς χυτῆς ὕλης.

ὑποδέξητε τέως: it would be possible to read ὑποδέξη τελέως, which would avoid the need to correct the itacism; but the epsilon after υποδέξητ has a prolonged final stroke and so appears to be at the end of a word.

3–4 P. Laur. IV 155 contains a request to the prytanis of Oxyrhynchus from τὸ κοινὸν τῶν χαλκῶν for payment for work done on the baths. This suggests that in line 3 the prytanis is speaking.

5 ητελι[: or ητεμ]. The word division is uncertain.

6 τοῖς πολιτικ[οῖς: the noun to be supplied (assuming that a noun is needed) is probably ἔργοις (rather than χρήμασι); in I 84 15–16 σιδηροχαλκεῖς acknowledge payment for iron used εἰς δημόσια πολιτικὰ ἔργα.

7 At the start of the line it would be possible to read ]πι, suggesting ἐ]πί for ἐπεί, with a new clause beginning after ἐργάζεται. The letters before and after εμ could well both be pi and it may be possible to read δέκα πεμπ[ (δεκαπέντε cannot be read).

8 ] . γτι ἡμῶν: ] ἀντὶ ἡμῶν is possible (and cf. the critical note).

τοῦ κεφαλαιωτοῦ τ[: supply τ[ὸν χαλκῶν?

9 . . . ε . ε . : it may be possible to read τ[ε] λέγετε. At the end supply χ[αλκῶν?

11 ] . δα: the trace at the start would permit alpha; read μυρι[άδας?

12 τ. παλαιαῖσι. [: it is possible to read τῆς παλαιᾶς, but this does not suggest any plausible restoration. There is no possibility of a reference to the 'old Ptolemaic coinage'.

13 It is not possible to read τάλαντα at the start of the line; perhaps a participle ending -εντα.

14 At the start ἐ[ρ[γ]άζεται is possible.

15 Διο[κ]ο[υ]ρίδης: although kappa and rho are not easy readings, the name is probable. There is a well-attested logistes of Oxyrhynchus Valerius Dioscurides alias Julianus, for whom see LIV, pp. 223–5, and add now LX 4092. It is pointed out in LIV, p. 225, that he is often referred to as Dioscurides without the alias Julianus. The traces do not allow a reference to Asclepiades, known as logistes at Oxyrhynchus at about this period (LIV, p. 227). If the reference is to this Dioscurides, we should no doubt restore λογιστ[εύσας εἰπεν], cf. XVII 2110 7 and 13, since Dioscurides was out of office by the 330s (LIV, p. 225).

17 A supralinear lambda is visible, either an abbreviation or a correction.

19 There is naturally a strong temptation to read βο[υ]λῆς οὔσης at the start. It must be stressed, however, that lambda is far from certain and the trace before this, though compatible with upsilon, is minimal; even if β[υ]λῆς is right, other restorations are possible (e.g. we could have just ὕλῆς and be dealing with the topic discussed on the previous page). Nevertheless, minutes of the council regularly start with the expression βουλῆς οὔσης (see below) and it would make good sense for minutes of a new meeting to start at the top of a new page. A serious problem arises, however, from what follows: normally the minutes have at this point a speech by the prytanis or some other member of the council, or, in the case of extracts, a statement of the prytany to which they are to be dated (e.g. VIII 1103, XVII 2110). XLVII 3340, which reads βουλῆς οὔσης καὶ τῆς [(line 5, cf. line 22), is somewhat different but the context is lost. Note also XVII 2130 12, where, in a petition to the gymnasiarchs, the petitioner refers to a πιττάκιον read out on τῇ διελθούσῃ λ βουλῆς οὔσης ὀνομασίαν κτλ., i.e. βουλῆς οὔσης comes in the middle of a sentence. The broken letter in our text after το looks most like alpha or delta, then a small hole follows, but no letter may have been lost. After this there is the end of a horizontal dash over the line plus a vertical stroke, which runs over the first two letters of εἰς. Does this mark an abbreviation or a numeral? If the latter, we could read τὸ δ' = τὸ τέταρτον, or τὸ α' = τὸ πρῶτον (cf. L 3586 5<sup>3</sup>). Could the latter refer to the first in a series of items to be discussed at the current meeting? It must be admitted, however, that this is without parallel in comparable documents.

If βο[υ]λῆς οὔσης is right a date almost certainly preceded. But as we are dealing with a page which is not at the start of the full record, we could have a new entry which recorded no more than the day's date, cf. 3340 5 and 22, and P. Erlang. 18.20: 15 there no doubt refers to the date at which the meeting was held, as the editor assumed, though it is taken differently by Wegener in her republication (for which see P. L. Bat. XXIII, pp. 99–101). This would, however, imply a very short restoration at the left and, since we must assume that the numeral in line 18 was centred, further imply a line of only about fifty letters. This seems unlikely in view of the impossibility of making connected sense of what remains. This problem is eased if we suppose that the month was mentioned as well as the day, which is certainly possible, especially if it were the first meeting in the month in question.

20 One expects ]ὁ δεσπότης μου (cf., e.g., LIV 3759 12), but the trace at the start does not look compatible with omicron.

21 ff. Whatever may be the relationship of the two preceding lines, it is clear that from here until at least line 25, we are dealing with appointment to a public office, a recurring feature of council proceedings; see Bowman, 98–107. Later on, from line 29 or earlier, the meeting seems to have concerned an argument over the payment of transport charges.

21 ἰδα: there seems to be too much ink at the start for just omicron, but I cannot suggest any reading other than οἰδα, even though the second person singular is somewhat unexpected. Elsewhere the prytanis seems to address the councillors in general, e.g. lines 11 and 24.

ἱκανὸν πρὸς τὸ βο[: cf. P. Lond. V 1649 quoted below. This suggests that we should restore here τὸ βο[υ]λευτικὸν φρόντισμα (cf. PSI VI 684.4).

22 ἀμπελοκτήτορα: very little remains of the damaged letter after ἀμπελ, but there is not room for ἀμπελ[ο]ν. The compound is not attested and other compounds of -κτήτωρ, λεπτοκτήτωρ and προκτήτωρ, are not close parallels. Nonetheless the word seems inevitable. On such compounds cf. L. R. Palmer, *Grammar*, 118–19.

The letters after ὄντα (cf. critical note) are either crossed through or corrected.

23–4 ὑποβάλλω is often used of irregular nomination to office, but it is clear that it can also be used of legitimate nominations: see *ZPE* 88 (1991) 122 n. 5, and N. Lewis, *Compulsory Public Services*,<sup>2</sup> 62.



24 ὑπεβάλατε: on the form see B. G. Mandilaras, *The Verb*, § 317(2).

25 ]βολέας: beta is a very probable reading. We should no doubt supply ἐκ]βολέας or χωματ(ο)εκ]βολέας (a reference to ἀμφιβολεῖς, καταβολεῖς or ὑποβολεῖς is less likely). P. Lond. V 1648 and 1649 (both 373) concern the nomination of ἐκβολέας χωμάτων; similar is LXI 4129. On these supervisors of work on the dykes see P. Petaus 49 and P. Mich. XI 618.14–15 n. At P. Lond. 1649.11–12 the men nominated are said to be ἱκαγοῦ[ς] καὶ ἐπιτηδεῖους καὶ εὐθέτους πρὸς τὸ ἐγχειρισθὲν αὐτοῖς φρόντισμα.

ασφο . . γτος[: in between the alpha and the phi there is a small hook, which may be a sigma or may be just a link stroke.

26 Flavius Hyginus is known from only four papyri, P. Sakaon 44 = P. Thead. 17, its duplicate P. Turner 44 (neither of which bears a date), P. Col. X 288 (31 December 330) and PSI 767 of 331. References in Athanasius serve to date his prefecture to 331–332, see C. Vandersleyen, *Chronologie des préfets d'Égypte*, 121–2; cf. also J. Lallemand, *L'administration civile*, 241–2.

28 μετὰ τῶν ἐπὶ κοπή: it is possible, but less likely, that the stroke between eta and the tau following is no more than a curve leading into the tau and that the correct reading is κοπή. Whichever reading is adopted the problem remains of the meaning of κοπή in this context. A reference to the tax κοπή τριχός (on which see *JJP* 16–17 (1971) 117–22) is most improbable. We presumably are concerned with men chosen to supervise the cutting of something, perhaps the cutting down of trees. The council minutes preserved in SB XX 15026 refer to the prohibition of cutting down persea trees; cf. also PSI IV 285.13 (from Oxyrhynchus).

29 τοῖς: it is not clear why there is a line under these letters.

30 Ἀπολλώνιος διαση(μότατος): a Flavius Septimius Severus Apollonius διασημότατος ἀπὸ ἐπιτρόπων is known from XIV 1716 of AD 336 (cf. P. Prag. I 10, with line 1 n.).

ὀφίλει ἀπὸ τῶν μερικέ[ντων: cf. perhaps PSI VII 781.3, an instruction for payment εἰς λόγον τῶν μερικέντων ἀργυρίων; this text is contemporary (341) and relates to the *vestis militaris*.

31 παρ . . : restore παρα[χέθηται?

32 οὕτω [γενέ]θω: or γινέ[θω. For γενέθω in a comparable context see Stud. Pal. XX 58 i 1.

33 It seems to have been the normal practice in minutes of meetings to give a speaker's name before his office or ex-office, except in the case of the prytanis, which suggests that we should not restore δ [ο]γιστή[ς] [εἰπ(εν)]; on the other hand there is a noticeable space before the article. For the involvement of the logistes in expenditure by town councils see Bowman, 90 and 97.

34 κατα . . . θ . . : καταθ[έ]ςθαι could be read (cf. line 5). At the right ἀκόλο[υθόν] ἐς[τι] is possible.

35 This may well be an indication that a certain Julianus joined in the debate and we could supply either λ[ογιστεύσας] or λ[ογιστή]ς. A Flavius Julianus, logistes, son of the former logistes Valerius Dioscurides, is known from Oxyrhynchus at precisely this period: see LIV, pp. 225–6.

J. DAVID THOMAS

#### 4526. INSTRUCTIONS FROM THE STRATEGUS TO A BANKER

20 3B.30/G(1–3)c

13.4 × 24.7 cm

December 69/January 70(?)

The papyrus is complete at top, right and left, though there are several holes of which the one in lines 20–22 is considerable. The last line extant preserves the end of the body of the document, but there is a paragraphos under this line which suggests that the papyrus would originally have gone on to include a copy of the *subscriptio*, now lost. The hand is an untidy, sprawling cursive typical of the later first century. The back is blank.

The text is an instruction from the strategus to a public bank to pay half of the ναῦλον due to eleven διεραματῖται from Oxyrhynchus. The full ναῦλον, payable on the

transport of wheat to Neapolis, had been fixed at 35 drachmas per 100 artabas. Such instructions (ἐπιστάλματα) were regularly issued by strategi to bankers, as we know from requests to the strategus to issue them and from acknowledgements to the bankers of the receipt of payments authorised by the strategus. Examples of requests from the Roman period are XLI **2958–9** and XLVI **3290**. Acknowledgements are relatively common, e.g. in the long roll made up of SB XVI 13060 + BGU XIII 2270 + P. Berl. Frisk 1 + P. Graux III 30 + P. Col. II 1 recto 4 (see P. Graux III, pp. 1–4) there are no fewer than 64 (P. Graux III, pp. 8–9). It is therefore rather surprising that very few ἐπιστάλματα from a strategus to a banker dating from the first four centuries AD are known (for the late Ptolemaic period see, e.g., BGU VIII 1749–1751). Apart from **4526** there are only LX **4059**, P. Graux III 30 col. 7, and perhaps P. Stras. VI 541 (the last two, like **4526**, are copies). This is the more remarkable as a number of examples do exist of analogous orders from the strategus to sitologi to issue amounts of grain, most often as seed-corn, see LVII **3907–9**, introd.; these orders are formally very similar to **4526**, especially in the inclusion of the statement that the royal scribe must also concur. Note also BGU VII 1564, an order from tax collectors to a banker to pay an advance to weavers, and SB XVI 13049, with P. Graux III, p. 55.

Of the acknowledgements referred to above the most interesting for comparative purposes with **4526** are those coming from tradesmen involved, like the διεραματῖται here, in stages in the transport of grain to Alexandria: see P. Berl. Frisk 1, *passim*, BGU XIII 2270, P. Col. II 1 recto 4 cols. 18 and 19, etc. On the transport of grain in general see the bibliography cited in the introduction to LVII **3912**. It is somewhat unexpected to find διεραματῖται associated with boats sailing as far as Alexandria; see further line 5 n.

In lines 14–24 eleven διεραματῖται are listed, each name being followed by two figures for artabas and then an amount in drachmas. At first sight one might suppose that the higher of the two figures for artabas represented the tonnage of the individual boats and the lower figure the amount actually carried. The correct explanation, however, which I owe to Dr John Rea, is that the higher figure represents the lower figure increased by an amount of 6%. It would in any case be totally unexpected to find boats recorded with tonnages such as 318, 371, 212 and 424 artabas. The tonnage of boats used on the Nile has recently been studied by I. J. Poll in *Archiv* 42 (1996) 127–38. He demonstrates that it is normal for the tonnage to be given as a multiple of 50 in amounts over 100 artabas, and in multiples of ten for boats of less than 100 artabas, and he is able to show that apparent exceptions to this rule depend on misreadings. It is to be noted that payment in **4526** is in all cases made on the smaller of the two amounts. It would appear that each διεραματίτης was made responsible for a particular amount of grain, in each case a round figure, but was required in practice to be responsible for this amount plus 6%. It seems that in addition to this the state made a further deduction from the sum which it actually paid out (see lines 25–7 n.).

- ἀντίγραφον. Κλαύδιος Ἡρώδης στρα(τηγός) Ὀξυρυγχ(ίτου)  
 Θέωνι καὶ μ[ετόχ]οις δημοσίων τραπεζί-  
 ταις τοῦ αὐτοῦ νομοῦ χαίρειν. χρηματίσατε συν-  
 επιστέλλοντος Ἑρμαίου βασιλικοῦ γραμματέ-  
 5 ως τοῖς ὑπογεγραμμένοις διεραματείταις ἀπ'  
 Ὀξυρύγχων πόλεως (m. 2) ἐξ ἀλληλεγγύης (m. 1) ἡμίναυλον τοῦ ἀρχῆθεν  
 ὠρισμένου ναύλου τῶν ἑκατὸν ἀρταβῶν (δρ.) λε  
 ἐφ' ᾧ παραδῶκουσι εἰς τὴν Νέαν Πόλιν τῷ ἰδίῳ  
 κινδύνῳ τὸν ἐμβληθησόμενον αὐτοῖς πυρ[ὸν]  
 10 οὐσιακὸν ὑπὸ Κλαυδίου Θεωνος καθαρὸν ἀπὸ  
 πάσης κακουργ[ία]ς· τὰ συναγόμενα τοῦ ἡμιναύ-  
 λου ὧν ἐμβάλλ[ο]νται χωρὶς ἐπιμηνίων  
 τῶν συνήθως . . . . . [.] . . . ἁλομένων·  
 Κιλικῇ Π. . . . . τ. υ ἀγωγῆς ἀρταβῶ(ν) φλ (ἀρτ.) φ (δρ.) πζ (τριώβολον)  
 15 Ἡρακλήῳ Ἡρα[κ]λήου ἀγωγῆς ἀρταβ(ῶν) φλ (ἀρτ.) φ (δρ.) πζ (τριώβολον)  
 Ἀρπάλῳ Ἀρπά[λο]υ ἀρταβῶν τη (ἀρτ.) τ (δρ.) νβ (τριώβολον)  
 Ἀμοίτι . [.] . . α. ους ἀρταβῶ(ν) τη (ἀρτ.) τ (δρ.) νβ (τριώβολον)  
 Σαραπίωνι . . . ηιο( ) ἀρταβ(ῶν) τοα (ἀρτ.) τν (δρ.) ξα (ὀβ.)  
 Παποντῶτι Κύρο[υ] ἀρταβῶν τη [(ἀρτ.)] τ (δρ.) νβ (τριώβολον)  
 20 Ὠρω . . . χου [ἀρτ]αβῶν ςιβ (ἀρτ.) ς (δρ.) λε  
 Ἡρα[ c. 6 ἀρταβῶν ςιβ (ἀρτ.) c (δρ.) λε  
 Λο. [ c. 9 ] ἀρταβῶν τη (ἀρτ.) τ (δρ.) νβ (τριώβολον)  
 Ἑρμοῦτι Δαμαρίωνο(ς) ἀρταβ(ῶν) υκδ (ἀρτ.) υ (δρ.) ο  
 Διονυσίῳ Δι[ον]υσίου(ς) Σαπρων( ) ἀρταβ(ῶν) τη (ἀρτ.) τ  
 (δρ.) νβ (τριώβολον)  
 25 ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ (δρ.) ψνβ (τριώβολον), ἐξ ὧν ὑπολογήσατε τὰς  
 συνήθως προστι[θ]εμένας τῷ κυριακῷ λόγῳ ἐ-  
 κατοστὰς καὶ λάβετε παρ' αὐτῶν τὴν καθήκου-  
 σαν ἀποχὴν. (ἔτους) β Α[ὐτ]οκράτορος Καίσαρος Οὐεσπασιανοῦ  
 Σεβαστοῦ Τῦβι . [ . C ]εβαστῆι.

1 στρ / οξυρυγχ 2-3 1. τραπεζίταις 5 1. διεραματίταις 6 1. ἀλληλεγγύης 7 etc  
 5 = δραχμαί 14 αρταβ<sup>ω</sup>, so 17 14 etc = ἀρτάβαι; Γ = τριώβολον 15 αρταβ<sup>β</sup>, so 18, 23, 24  
 18 . . . ηιο<sup>0</sup>; τοα, τ corrected from ς; — = 1 obol, see note 23 δαμαρίων<sup>ο</sup> 24 δι[ον]υσιο<sup>ο</sup>σαπρων<sup>υ</sup> 28 L



‘Copy. Claudius Herodes strategus of the Oxyrhynchite to Theon and partners, bankers of the public funds of the same nome, greeting.

‘Pay, with the concurrence of Hermaeus the royal scribe, to the undermentioned *dieramatitae* from the city of Oxyrhynchus (2nd hand) on their(?) joint responsibility (1st hand) half of the freight charges which have been fixed in accordance with the traditional practice(?) at the rate of 35 drachmas per one hundred artabas, on condition that they shall deliver to Neapolis at their own risk the usiac wheat which will be loaded for them by Claudius Theon, free from any malpractice. The calculation of the half of the freight charges for that which they take on board, apart from the monthly supplies(?) which are customarily taken on board in addition(?) [is]:

To Kilikas son of Plates(?) for carrying 530 artabas, (payment) for 500 art., 87 dr. 3 ob.

To Heracles son of Heracles for carrying 530 artabas, (payment) for 500 art., 87 dr. 3 ob.

To Harpalus son of Harpalus for 318 artabas, (payment) for 300 art., 52 dr. 3 ob.

To Amois son of ... for 318 artabas, (payment) for 300 art., 52 dr. 3 ob.

To Sarapion son of ... for 371 artabas, (payment) for 350 art., 61 dr. 1 ob.(?)

To Papontos son of Syrus for 318 artabas, (payment) for 300 art., 52 dr. 3 ob.

To Horus son of ... for 212 artabas, (payment) for 200 art., 35 dr.

To Hera- ... for 212 artabas, (payment) for 200 art., 35 dr.

To Lo- ... for 318 artabas, (payment) for 300 art., 52 dr. 3 ob.

To Hermous son of Damarion for 424 artabas, (payment) for 400 artabas, 70 dr.

To Dionysius son of Dionysius son of Sapron(?) for 318 artabas, (payment) for 300 art., 52 dr. 3 ob.,

making a total of 752 drachmas 3 obols, out of which deduct the percentage which has customarily been credited to the imperial fiscus, and get from them the usual receipt. Year 2(?) of Emperor Caesar Vespasianus Augustus Tybi ..., dies Augusta.’

<sup>1</sup> (Tiberius) Claudius Herodes has hitherto been attested as strategus of the Oxyrhynchite only in P. Berl. Möller 2 = SB IV 7339 (Vespasian) and XLIX 3508 (16 April 70), see G. Bastianini and J. Whitehorne, *Strategi and Royal Scribes of Roman Egypt*, 88. On the date of 4526 see lines 28 n. and 29 n.

<sup>2</sup> A firm of public bankers with the title Theon and partners also occurs at Oxyrhynchus in II 243 = M. Chr. 182 (79) and I 50 (99–100); see R. Bogaert, *ZPE* 109 (1995) 151–7.

<sup>2–3</sup> *δημοσίων τραπεζίταις*: in the vast majority of occurrences this expression is abbreviated to *δημ. τραπ.*, *vel sim.*, and editors have nearly always assumed the correct title is *δημόσιοι τραπεζίταις*. Sophie Kambitsis, however, has pointed out (P. Graux III, pp. 10–11; cf. already, Bogaert, *op. cit.* 152 n. 85) that examples in which the first word is written in full as *δημοσίων* are not at all uncommon: she notes 14 instances in the long roll referred to above in the introduction, and adds X 1284 6, XLI 2964 4, 2968 6 and LX 4059 i. 2 (to which PSI XII 1262.ii. 5 may be added). Against this she notes that in P. Graux 30 col. 3 *δημοσίων* has been corrected to *δημοσί(ο)ς*, and that XLI 2961 6 has *δημοσίους τραπεζίταις* (cf. also XX 2271 4, *δημόσιοι τραπεδῖται* [*sic*]). She therefore suggests that either *δημοσίων τραπεζίταις* or *δημόσιοι τραπεζίταις* was an acceptable form for the title.

<sup>3–5</sup> *ἐννεπιστέλλοντος Ἑρμαίου βασιλικῷ γραμματέως*: this phrase regularly accompanies instructions from the strategus of the type discussed in the introduction. It is attested from the middle of the first century BC (numerous examples in BGU VIII, also XIV 2368; but note already P. Grenf. II 23 = W. Chr. 159 of



108 BC, where *συνυπογράφοντος* replaces *συνεπιστέλλοντος* until AD 213 (P. Köln II 94); cf. E. Börner, *Der staatliche Korntransport*, 24–5.

Between lambda and iota in *βασιλικού* there is an additional stroke, which is not part of the tail of rho from the line above. The *βασιλικὸς γραμματεὺς* Hermaeus is not otherwise known.

5 *διεραματείται*: in the papyri we have references to *διεραματῖται*, to *διεράματα* and to *διέρασις*, the last usually qualified with the words (τοῦ) *δημοσίου πυροῦ*. Various spellings are used and the etymology is obscure, see XXXI 2568 16 n. There has been much dispute over their meaning, but the explanation offered in LVII 3912 11–12 n. (where earlier bibliography is cited), that *διέρασις* ‘refers to the transfer of grain by means of lighters or tenders from the granaries out to the large cargo boats which were unable to get into the harbour’ is now generally accepted; see also P. Köln V 229, with line 21 n. The present text does not wholly suit this picture, since the undertaking which it records is not that of transferring grain out to larger ships on the Nile but that of making the whole journey down river to Neapolis, presumably from the Oxyrhynchite nome. We know that smaller boats could make such journeys, as is attested for example in X 1260. Indeed, when the level of the Nile was low it would have been essential to use smaller boats (cf. Börner, *op. cit.* 30, and A. J. M. Meyer-Termeer, *Die Haftung der Schiffer*, 4) and that may be the explanation in the present text.

6 *ἐξ ἀλληλεγγύης*: for its use in a similar context cf. BGU VII 1564.3 and LX 4059 13.

*ἡμίναυλον*: it was common practice in private shipping contracts for payment to be made partly in advance and partly on delivery: see XLV 3250 12–15, cf. XLIX 3484 11–12 n.; see also Meyer-Termeer, *op. cit.* 12 with n. 166. For *ἡμίναυλον* used in an official context see P. Harr. II 197.23. For the payment of *ναῦλα* in respect of *διεράματα* cf. P. Sakaon 11, 12 and 82.

*ἀρχῆθεν*: also found in SB XIV 11899.12, and in XXII 2341 10, where it is taken to mean ‘in accordance with usual practice’. Alternatively one might think of a meaning such as ‘at the commencement’ or even ‘by higher authority’.

7 On the rate of charges for water transport see Börner, *op. cit.* 36–7, A. C. Johnson, *Roman Egypt*, 407–8, and O. M. Pearl, *TAPA* 83 (1952) 74–9, with a table on p. 77. To the evidence cited by Pearl add now the following: P. Lond. VII 1940 (Zenon), between 12 and 22 drachmas for transport of 100 artabas of grain within the Delta; SB XVI 12810 (Zenon), 25 dr. (distance and cargo unknown); XLV 3250 (c. 63), 28 dr. for 100 artabas of *ἄραξ*, and XLIII 3111 (257), 80 dr. for 100 jars of wine, both for transport between the Hermopolite and the Oxyrhynchite.

8–9 *τῷ ἰδίῳ κινδύνῳ*: cf. Meyer-Termeer, *op. cit.* 114. The earliest example hitherto of a comparable clause was P. Meyer 14.10–12 of 159/60. Meyer-Termeer (n. 144 on pp. 39–40) suggests that its inclusion may mean that the post of *ναύκληρος* was by then a liturgy. It would, however, be very hazardous to argue from the occurrence of this clause in 4526 that the *διεραματῖται* were already liturgists in the reign of Vespasian (we know that the post was a liturgy by the late second century from P. Tebt. II 328; see N. Lewis, *Compulsory Public Services*,<sup>2</sup> s.v.); note that they here receive payment for the transporting of the grain.

9–10 *πυρ[ὸν] οὐσιακόν*: no other occurrence of this phrase is known to me, but cf. the reference to *συναγοραστικ(ῆς) οὐσιακ(ῆς) κριθ(ῆς)* in P. Petaus 44.58.

10 *Κλαυδίου Θέωνος*: perhaps to be identified with the Tiberius Claudius Theon who was an important Alexandrian citizen with holdings of *usiak* land in the Oxyrhynchite in the later first century, see XLII 3051 1 n.

10–11 *καθαρὸν ἀπὸ πάσης κακουργ[ί]ας*: this is the oldest occurrence in such documents of a *Haftungsklausel*, on which see Meyer-Termeer, *op. cit.* 111–22. No other occurrence exactly matches the wording used here; in particular all texts which use the words *ἀπὸ πάσης* and *κακουργίας* insert *ναυτικῆς*. According to Meyer-Termeer, 112–13, the inclusion of *ναυτικῆς* is significant and one wonders whether it has been omitted by accident in the present text.

11–13 The grammatical construction of *τὰ συναγόμενα* is unclear. It may be just in apposition to *ἡμίναυλον* in line 6, but it seems preferable to understand a heavy stop after *κακουργ[ί]ας* and take what follows as a new sentence, with *ἐστὶ δέ* or equivalent understood.

12–13 *ἐπιμήνια* seem usually to refer to provisions (cf. *LSJ* s.v.). The participle used of them here is uncertain as the papyrus is badly damaged in the middle of line 13. Neither *ἐμβαλλομένων* nor *ἐπιστελλομένων* by itself is sufficient to complete what was written after *συνήθως*. Of the two *ἐμβαλλομένων* is slightly preferable as a reading and the solution may be to read *προεμβαλλομένων*.

14 *Κιλικαί Π...τ. ν*: the name *Κιλικᾶς* is attested several times in P. Petaus. The patronymic may be *Πλάτων*, which is attested in SB XX 14088.10 (first published in *Aegyptus* 69 (1989) 37–9, where see the note); cf. also Stud. Pal. X 116.1.

15 Ἡρακλήωι Ἡρα[κ]λήου: from Ἡρακλῆς not Ἡρακλῆρος, which is a modern invention: see H. C. Youtie, *Scriptiunculae* II 819.

17 The patronymic no doubt ended in -ηους; αηους or ληους could be read, possibly κληους (but not Ἡρακλήους).

18 ... ηιο( ): either βηιο( ) or κηιο( ). There is insufficient room for Παετβῆς, attested in P. Wisc. II 80.144.

Strictly the amount due on 350 artabas is 61 drachmas  $1\frac{1}{2}$  obols, but it is unlikely that anything was written after the symbol for one obol.

24 Καπρων( ): it is odd for this entry to have another name after the patronymic, presumably the name of the grandfather (though τοῦ would be expected); cf. LV 3804 72 n. The name is unattested, but Καπρίων is quite common.

25 The individual amounts in lines 14–24 are all certain or guaranteed by the figure for the number of artabas, but they add up to only 638 $\frac{3}{4}$  drachmas, a sum which cannot be read in this line. The sum certainly ends in 2 dr. 3 ob., and there is no real doubt about the nu (=50) before this. The only plausible figure ending in 52 dr. 3 ob. which is a multiple of  $17\frac{1}{2}$  is 752 dr. 3 ob. Only a horizontal stroke at the start survives of the first letter/figure of the numeral, but this would seem to be consistent with psi (there is no other psi in the papyrus with which to compare it). A sum of 752 $\frac{1}{2}$ , however, involves adding 113 $\frac{3}{4}$  to the total of lines 14–24, the equivalent of the amount due for an additional 650 artabas. The simplest explanation is to suppose that the scribe making the copy missed out by mistake one or more probably two individual entries.

25–7 On ἑκατοσταί in connection with shipping contracts cf. XXXIII 2670 34–6 n., XLIX 3484 13–15 n., and Meyer-Termeer, op. cit. 17–18, who speaks of amounts of  $\frac{1}{2}\%$ , 1%, 5% and 10%; for a very early example see now P. Prag. I 54.4 (AD 19–21). Meyer-Termeer, however, is concerned only with additional amounts, not a deduction as here. Such deductions are commonly attested in the early 4th century, usually in connection with *vestis militaris*, and are always of 6 $\frac{1}{2}\%$ . A few documents from the Roman period show a deduction of 6 $\frac{1}{2}\%$ , for which see P. Graux III, pp. 54–7. In our text the percentage is not specified and it should be noted that at this period a deduction of  $1\frac{1}{2}\%$  is also attested, as in P. Köln II 94 (213), where see the note to lines 24–6.

25–6 τὰς συνήθως προστί[θ]εμένας τῷ κυριακῷ λόγῳ: cf. BGU III 697 = W. Chr. 321.19 (145), τὰς συνήθ(ως) διδομ(ένας) (ἑκατοσταὶ) ἐξ ἡμ[υ]ν. For the use of προστίθημι compare BGU 620 = W. Chr. 186.13–15 (c. 302), as emended by Youtie, *TAPA* 87 (1956) 69–73 = *Scriptiunculae* I 265–9: ἐ]ξ [ῶ]ν [ὑπο]λογοῦντε (l. -ται) ὑπὲρ ἑκα[ς]τοστῶν ἐξ ἡμ[υ]ν κα[ὶ] προσετέθη ἐν τοῖς κυριακοῖς λόγο[ι]ς, and P. Graux III 30, col. 7, 25–6, ἐξ ὧν ὑπολογῆσαντες τὰς αἰρούσας ὑπὲρ ἑκατοστῶν ἐξ ἡμῖνους δραχμὰς ... πρόσθεθε τῷ κυριακῷ λόγῳ. In SB XVI 13049.17, πρόσθεθε τῷ κυριακῷ λόγῳ may well be part of a similar clause, see P. Graux III, pp. 55–6. For other examples of ἑκατοσταί being credited to the fiscus see BGU VII 1564.9, SB XVIII 13367.7–8 and P. Beatty Panop. 1.397.

27 λάβετε: all the parallels would lead us to expect this word, but it is not an easy reading; in particular the initial letter is not at all like the writer's other lambdas. δέξαθε cannot be read.

28 A different strategus was in office by Vespasian's fifth year, see Bastianini and Whitehorne, op. cit. 89. Beta is a doubtful reading, but is less improbable than the alternatives.

29 The reading after Σεβαστοῦ is very uncertain. Σεβαστοῦ μην[ὸς] Σεβαστοῦ ι has also been considered but is less likely. The first letter after Σεβαστοῦ is most like tau, hence the reading suggested. In the reign of Vespasian Σεβαστή is attested for the 8th in BGU III 981.i.35 (Pharmuthi), II 276.4 (Sebastos = Thoth), and I 165.26 = *BASP* 31(1994) 23–6 (Mecheir; see the note ad loc.), the 20th in BGU 981.ii.5 (Pharmuthi), and the 21st in XLIX 3508 37 (Pharmuthi; see Hübner's note in the original publication in *ZPE* 24 (1977) 53).

J. DAVID THOMAS

#### 4527. TAX ACCOUNT

46 5B.51/F(2–4)b

12 × 26.5 cm

After 28 August 185  
Plate XVII

This document, preserving the ends of lines from one column and a few initial letters from the next, relates not to Oxyrhynchus but to the Arsinoite nome. Its main

interest comes from the huge figure of over 800,000 artabas of wheat in 7, apparently the total revenue from wheat taxes for Heracleides' division of the Arsinoite nome for the 25th year of Commodus (184/5). See further 7 n.

This piece was cut from the document and has survived because it was re-used on the back for a letter (4544) which was sent to Oxyrhynchus.

	Col. i	Col. ii
	] .	[
	Ἡρ]ακλείδου μερίδος	λ[
	]	[
	? ὁ πρ]οστρατηγήσας Ἀπολλώνιος	[
5	] ὑπὲρ φόρων κε (ἔτους)	[
	Κομμό]δου Ἀντωνί[ν]ου Καίσαρος	[
	] . (πυρ. ἀρτ.) (μυρ.) <sup>πα</sup> Δωξβ Lγ κδ μη ρς	[
	] (ἀρτ.) (μυρ.) <sup>ε</sup> Δωμα κ'δ'	[
	] (ἀρτ.) Β'λ	[
10	] (ἀρτ.) Ἀτοε Lγ κδ	ε[
	] (ἀρτ.) νη ι'β'	. [
	] (ἀρτ.) α	[
	] (ἀρτ.) ιβ ι'β'	[
	ἔδηλ]ώθησαν μεμετρῆσθαι	κλ[
15	] του Μεσορῆ (πυρ. ἀρτ.) (μυρ.) <sup>κβ</sup> Γφπα γιβ	τ[
	] (ἀρτ.) (μυρ.) <sup>β</sup> Δφπθ Lμ η	[
	] ξς Lδ'	[

5 κε L

7, 15 ι ∩

8, 16 ∩ ∩

9-13 ∩

[ ] . . .

] of the division of Heracleides

]

] the preceding strategus Apollonius

5 ] in respect of the taxes of the 25th year of

] Commodus Antoninus Caesar

] (artabas of wheat) 814,862 <sup>1</sup><sub>2</sub> <sup>1</sup><sub>3</sub> <sup>1</sup><sub>24</sub> <sup>1</sup><sub>48</sub> <sup>1</sup><sub>96</sub>] (art.) 54,841 <sup>1</sup><sub>24</sub>

] (art.) 2,930

10	] (art.)	1,375 <sup>1 2 1 3 1 24</sup>
	] (art.)	58 <sup>1 12</sup>
	] (art.)	1
	] (art.)	12 <sup>1 12</sup>
	] were declared to have been paid	
15	] . Mesore (art. wheat)	223,581 <sup>1 3 1 12</sup>
	] (art.)	24,589 <sup>1 2 1 48</sup>
	]	66 <sup>1 2 1 4</sup>

1 The trace is a large oblique stroke, perhaps attached to a number (cf. 17 where a similar stroke marks a fraction) or forming part of an abbreviation. Part of upsilon is also possible, although the examples surviving in the text do not have this form.

2 *Ἡρακλείδου μερίδος*. This document originated in Heracleides' division of the Arsinoite nome, doubtless as part of the correspondence of the strategus of that division whose name will have been lost to the left here. Cf. the next note. Then it was re-used in the Heracleopolite nome, when Eudaemon sent his letter (4544 3) to Hegumenus, who presumably lived in Oxyrhynchus.

4 *ὁ στρατηγὴς Ἀπολλώνιος*. An Apollonius is recorded as strategus of Heracleides' division of the Arsinoite nome from 2 May 184 to August 185, see G. Bastianini—J. Whitehorne, *Strategi and Royal Scribes* 32–3. This span covers almost all of the 25th year of Commodus (184/5), see 5–6. An acting-strategus was in post on 18 September, and a proper replacement (Apollotas) by November–December, see Bastianini—Whitehorne, op. cit. 33. Since not only is Apollonius now out of office, but the implication of lines 5 and 15 is probably that Commodus' 25th year has ended, 4527 must be dated after 28 August 185. This also gives us a *terminus post quem* for dating the private letter 4544.

5–7 The account that follows is apparently dealing with the taxes for a whole year: *ὑπὲρ φόρων κε (ἔτους)*. The imperial title is probably (although not certainly) to be completed as [*Μάρκου Αὐρηλίου Κομμοῦ*] *δοῦ Ἀντωνίου* [*ν*] *οῦ Καίσαρος τοῦ κυρίου*; see P. Bureth, *Les titulatures impériales* 89. This would mean that approximately half of the column is missing.

7 The figure here is strikingly high, although not without parallels. BGU VI 1217.31 (2nd cent. BC) has an amount of 835,000 artabas of wheat, but the purpose of the text is not clear. In BGU VIII 1760.21–23 (51/50 BC), we find a mention of 600,000 artabas, but this covers the whole of the *chora*, as the text, a letter from the dioecetes Protarchus, shows clearly: *παραμετρηθῆναι | τὰς ἀπὸ τῶν καθηκου[σῶν ἐκ τῆς ὅλης | χώρας πυροῦ (μυρ.) ξ.* H. C. Youtie published a tax account for the Oxyrhynchite nome in the 4th century AD in *ZPE* 32 (1978) 237–240 (= *Scriptiunculae Posteriores* II 501–4; SB XIV 12208), on which see the reconsideration by R. S. Bagnall/K. A. Worp in *ZPE* 37 (1980) 263–264. The total figure there for the grain taxes of the Oxyrhynchite nome, 321,278 artabas of wheat, is much lower than ours. This account does not follow the same pattern as our text and it is hard to understand the relationship between the next figures in our account; all headings before our figures are missing. When one compares Youtie's figure with ours, one wonders whether ours is too high to represent the amount of wheat collected for Heracleides' division alone. Moreover, according to Bagnall and Worp, the tax rate in the Arsinoite would have been lower than in the Oxyrhynchite. Nevertheless, there are several ways in which the discrepancy between the figures could be explained:

1. The whole Arsinoite nome had an estimated surface of 435,420 arouras (= 1200 km<sup>2</sup>) in the Ptolemaic period, see D. Rathbone, *PCPhS* 36 (1990) 130, whereas the Oxyrhynchite nome covered 202,544 arouras (= 560 km<sup>2</sup>) of arable land in the first half of the 4th century AD, see Rathbone, art. cit., 125. Given the fact that Heracleides' division amounted to roughly half of the Arsinoite nome (see map in P. Tebt. II, pl. II), and notwithstanding the fact that the respective figures differ considerably in time, the Oxyrhynchite nome and Heracleides' division probably had more or less the same surface under cultivation. However, the Arsinoite is known to have been intensively cultivated; this could have led to a considerably higher output than in other nomes, see R. S. Bagnall, *TAPhA* 115 (1985) 306.



2. Youtie's document is over a century later than **4527**, and conditions of management could have deteriorated.

3. Climatic variations between two harvests could have made a difference to yields, although D. Bonneau, *Le fisc et le Nil* 251, does not attribute any extraordinary quality to the flood of 184, the flood which would have determined the quality of 185's harvest.

P. SCHUBERT

#### 4528. REPORT OF PUBLIC DOCTORS

69/37(a)+70/19(a)

12 × 24 cm

6 May 336

Under this number we republish LXIII **4366** together with an additional fragment which adjoins at the foot and completes the document. We now have a much clearer picture of the medical condition of the person examined. The new piece also contributes the exact date of the submission of the report. VI **901** and its duplicate LIV **3771**, likewise addressed to Flavius Julianus, date from five days earlier (1 May).

For a list of doctors' reports hitherto published see **4366** introd. (para 4); add now LXIV **4441** cols. i (=SB III 6003), ii (316), and **4529**.

ὑπατείας Οὐϊρίου Νεπωτιανοῦ καὶ Τε[ττίου]

Φακούντου τῶν λαμ(προτάτων).

Φλαουτῶ Ἰουλιανῶ διοικοῦντι συνδικίαν [Ὁξυρυγίτου]

παρὰ Αὐρηλίων Θεωνίνου καὶ Ἡρωνος καὶ Διδύ[μου]

5 καὶ Cιλβανοῦ δημοσίων ἱατρῶν τῆς αὐτῆ[ς πόλεως.]

ἐπεστάλημεν ὑπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς ἐμμελείας, ἐκ [βιβλιδίων]

ἐπιδοθέντων ὑπὸ Αὐρηλίου Πτολεμαίου[υ c. 7 ]

πρυτανεύσαντος τῶν αὐτόθι, ὥστε [ἐπ]ι[θεω]—

[ρῆσαι τὸν] τούτου γεωργὸν, Ἀπιν τοῦ[νομα,]

10 [κα]ὶ ἐν[γ]ρ[ά]φως προσφ[ω]νῆσαι τὴν τοῦ[του διά]—

θεσιν. ὅθεν ἐπεθεωρήσαμε[ν αὐτὸν c. 7 ]

[.] [c. 3 ἔχ]οντα ἐπὶ τοῦ δεξιοῦ μέρους τοῦ

τραχήλ[ου] ἀμυχὰς καὶ [ c. 6 ] . . [ c. 7 ]

ὠμ[ο]πλάτης πελειωμάτ[ιο]ν . . . [ c. 6 ]

15 καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ δεξιοῦ ἀγκῶνος ἀμυχ[ῆ]ν καὶ

ἐπὶ τοῦ κάτω δεξιοῦ βλεφάρου πελιωμάτιον,

ὅπερ προσφωγνόμεν.

ὑπατείας τῆς προκ(ειμένης) Παχῶν ια.

(m. 2) Αὐρ(ήλιος) Δίδυμος ἐπειδέδωκα.

20 (m. 3) Αὐρ(ήλιος) Ἡρων ἐπειδέδωκα.

2 l. Φακοῦνδου; λαμ) 10 l. ἐγγράφως 13 υ of ἀμυχάς corr. 14 l. πελιωμάτιον  
 15 l. ἀγκῶνος 16 πελιωμάτιον corr. from περι— 17 Final nu extended as filler stroke. Similar  
 extensions in 18–19 18 προ<sup>κ</sup>? 19, 20 αὐρ'; l. ἐπιδέδωκα

‘In the consulship of Virius Nepotianus and Tettius Facundus, *virī clarissimi*.

‘To Flavius Julianus, administering the office of the syndic of the Oxyrhynchite, from the Aurelii Theoninus and Heron and Didymus and Silvanus, public doctors of the same city.

‘We were instructed by Your Diligence, as a result of a petition submitted by Aurelius Ptolemaeus, ..., former prytanis of this locality, to examine his farmer, Apis by name, and report this person’s condition in writing. Wherefore we examined him ... having on the right part of the neck skin wounds, and ... shoulder-blade a slight bruising ..., and on the right elbow a skin wound, and on the lower right eyelid a slight bruising, which we report.

‘In the aforesaid consulship, Pachon 11.’

(2nd hand) ‘I, Aurelius Didymus, have submitted this.’

(3rd hand) ‘I, Aurelius Heron, have submitted this.’

4–5 The same four public doctors submitted XLIV 3195 ii of 331, and in all probability I 52 of 325, cf. 4366 4–5 n. Two of the doctors, Heron and Didymus, were also concerned with VI 896 of 316 (a photograph shows that their subscriptions are in the same hands as here). An Aurelius Heron, son of Heron alias Dionysius appears in LIV 3729 9–10 (307), and it may be that we are dealing with the same individual in all these cases, see note ad loc. (Note that from 325 onwards the doctors no longer state their patronymics.) There is no way of knowing whether Didymus, one of the four doctors involved in 4370 of 354, is the same person as the one here.

The number of public doctors in each municipality was fixed, see 4366 introd. It may be worth considering whether in Oxyrhynchus public doctors were four in number, at least for the period 316 to 354. We know of four doctors active in 316 (Heron and Didymus in 896, Aurelius Sarapion, son of Herodotus in 4441 i, and Aurelius Dioscorus, son of Heron in 4441 ii), while a college of four doctors appears in 52 (probably), 3195 ii, 4528 and 4370 (354). But in 4529 of 376 we find three public doctors. Whether this signifies a decrease in the number of doctors, or is a coincidence, there is no means of telling.

7 Πτολεμαῖος[υ. This former prytanis is not known from elsewhere, cf. 4366 7 n. In view of πρυτανεύσαντος in line 8, it is likely that some other office held by Ptolemaeus followed at the end of this line, probably abbreviated. γυμ(νασιαρχήσαντος) is one possibility; βουλ(ευτοῦ) may also be considered, but we would normally expect it to have followed after πρυτανεύσαντος.

13 ἀμυχάς. See also 15. The only other papyrological occurrences of the word are I 52 16 and XLIV 3195 ii 46. The word thus seems peculiar to reports submitted by the same doctors, see above 4–5 n.

At the end of the line supplement ἐπὶ τῆς δεξιᾶς (or ἀριστερᾶς)? For similar constructions cf. PSI V 455.14–15 (178), 4441 i 10 (316).

17 ὅπερ. ἄπερ is used in 3195 ii 48; in XLV 3245 17 of 297 ἄ]περ is restored. If we are to assume stylistic uniformity in reports submitted by the same doctors (cf. above 13 n.), either form seems to have a better claim as a supplement than [διὸ] in 52 17.

19–20 Only two of the four doctors, Didymus and Heron, added their signatures; Theoninus and Silvanus did not subscribe. In 3195 ii we find the signatures of Theoninus, Heron, and Silvanus, but not that of Didymus. VI 896 is subscribed by both the doctors responsible for the report (Didymus, son of Dioscorus, and Heron).

N. GONIS

## 4529. REPORT OF PUBLIC DOCTORS

40 5B.112/B(4-5)a

16.5 × 14.5 cm

22 June 376

The upper part of a report submitted by a college of three doctors to the logistes concerning the examination of a *stationarius* at Oxyrhynchus; the lost portion will have contained the details of the latter's medical condition. Compare LIV 3729 9-10 of 307, where the person examined is a *ducenarius*.

The text provides a fixed date for the logistes Flavius Macrobius; he may well be the same as the Macrobius in P. Wash. Univ. I 54.5, assigned to the fourth/fifth century, see below 3 n. His predecessor is likely to have been Flavius Sarapodorus, last recorded as logistes in XLVI 3310, of 26 January-24 February 374. Macrobius' nearest known successor is Paulus, attested in office on 2 September 381 (PSI X 1108). The Oxyrhynchite logistae attested from after 346 are listed by P. J. Sijpesteijn, K. A. Worp in M. Capasso *et al.*, *Miscellanea Papyrologica* II (Pap. Flor. XIX) 518.

The back, so far as it is preserved, is blank.

ὑπατείας τῶν δεσποτῶν ἡμῶν Οὐάλεντος τὸ ε καὶ  
Οὐαλεντινιανοῦ νέου τὸ ας τῶν αἰωνίων Αὐγο(ύ)στων, Παῦνι κη.

Φλαουτίῳ Μακροβίῳ λογιστῇ Ὁξύρυγχίτου

παρὰ Αὐρηλίων [. . . .] υ καὶ Διονυσίου καὶ Εὐδαίμωνος

5 τῶν τριῶν δη[μοσίων ἰ]ατρῶν τῆς αὐτῆς πόλεως.

ἐ[πες]τάλημεν ὑ[π]ὸ τῆς αὐτῆς ἐμμελείας ἐκ βιβλιδίου(ν)

ἐπιδοθέντων σοι ὑπὸ Φλαουτίου Φιλοξένου

στατιωναρίου ὥς τε {τοῦτον} ἐπιθεωρήσαι τὴν περὶ

αὐτὸν διάθεσιν [καὶ ἐ]νγράφως προσφωνῆσαι. ὅθεν

10 τοῦτον ἐπεθεω[ρήσα]μεν ἐπὶ τῆς πόλεως ἔχοντα

scanty traces on loose fibres

. . . . .

4 l. Εὐδαίμωνος; -ος added

6 l. ἐμμελείας; βιβλιδιῶ

9 l. ἐγγράφως

'In the consulship of our masters Valens for the 5th time and Valentinianus *iunior* for the 1st time, perpetual Augusti, Pauni 28.

'To Flavius Macrobius, logistes of the Oxyrhynchite, from the Aurelii ... and Dionysius and Eudaemon, the three of them public doctors of the same city.

'We were instructed by your Diligence, as a result of a petition submitted to you by Flavius Philoxenus, *stationarius*, to examine his condition and report in writing. Wherefore we examined him in the city ...'

1-2 For the conversion of the date see R. S. Bagnall, K. A. Worp, *Chronological Systems of Byzantine Egypt* 100, 114. For the consuls see R. S. Bagnall *et al.*, *Consuls of the Later Roman Empire* 287.

3 For Macrobius see introd. P. Wash. Univ. I 54.5 has *Μακροβίου Ἰουλιανοῦ λογι[στοῦ]* (but theoretically *λογι[στεύσαντος]* is also possible). It is tempting to identify his father with Flavius Julianus, another Oxyrhynchite logistes, who also held a number of other important posts, see LIV pp. 225–6, and LX 4086, 4090, 4092. Flavius Julianus was the son of another logistes, Valerius Dioscurides alias Julianus, see 4092 introd. If the identification has any chance of being true, this would be the fourth generation of this important Oxyrhynchite family to be known to us.

There is a possibility that this Macrobius is the same person who figures as Flavius Macrobius *πολιτευόμενος*, the addressee of the petition P. Wash. Univ. I 20 (IV) (the *curator civilis* was a member of the local *ordo curialis*). P. Wash. Univ. II 83.1 (late IV/early V) also refers to a Macrobius *πολιτευόμενος*, and it is conceivable that we are dealing with the same *curialis* in both cases, despite the absence of status indication (although the person mentioned next in this money account is a Flavius; in line 2 pl. XIIa suggests reading *Φλ(άουιος) Θεόφιλος* in place of [...]ολ( ) Θεόφιλος). The editor suggests an identification with the boat owner who appears in VII 1048 11, 14, likewise assigned to the late fourth/early fifth century. (Other Oxyrhynchite boat owners of the period are known to have been *curiales* and to have held senior offices in the local administration (Aëtius, Heraclius, Ptoleminus, Tatianus, Valerius); cf. also R. S. Bagnall, *Egypt in Late Antiquity* 36–7.) In XVII 2110 23, of 370, there is a *riparius* called Macrobius; the connection of the ripariate with the curial class is well-known, and we know of *curatores* such as e.g. Eulogius and Dionysarius, cf. LIV pp. 228–9, who also became *riparii* at some stage of their careers. The Macrobius in SB XVI 12523 (394), an official order regarding taxation issues, is obviously a person of some standing, cf. M. Manfredi, *Scritti Monteverocchi* 209–10. The Macrobius who occurs in XXIV 2408 3, of 397, is apparently an *ἐπιμελητής* *κίτου Ἀλεξανδρείας*, cf. F. A. J. Hoogendijk, *ZPE* 112 (1996) 172 on *α* 3–4—such *ἐπιμεληταί* were councillors, cf. P. Turner 45.6 n., P. Laur. IV 162.4–5 (354), P. Wash. Univ. II 82.6 (367). Naturally, it is hard to tell whether all of these are the same. Note that XVII 2110 besides the *riparius* also attests a Macrobius son of the *βουλευτής* Theon (3, *et passim*); and we know nothing about the progeny of the well-known logistes Flavius Paeanius alias Macrobius, for whom see LX 4089 introd. The Macrobius *ἀπὸ ἡγεμονίων* in 4089 33, of 351, is perhaps too early for our considerations. Note also that PSI VIII 944.10 (364/6?) attests a Macrobius *προπολιτεύομενος*; the provenance of the document is unknown, but Oxyrhynchus seems a good candidate.

4 [...]υ. A short name, i.e. not of one of the doctors known from elsewhere.

*Διονυσίου*. This public doctor is not otherwise known.

*Εὐδαίμωνος* (l. *Εὐδαίμωνος*). The scribe first wrote *Εὐδαίμων* with the nu enlarged, as if it were the last letter in the line (he did this also in lines 3 and 7), and later added *ος*. In LIX 4001, assigned to the late fourth century, a Eudaemon writes back to his family at an *ἰατρεῖον* which seemingly served as their home, presumably in Oxyrhynchus. A doctor named Eudaemon is the sender of the unprovenanced letter P. Fouad 80, assigned to the fourth century, but an identification seems impossible. The letter mentions a financial transaction; the sum of money involved in it, three talents (line 15), points to a date not later than the early years of the century.

5 *τῶν τριῶν δη[μοσίων] ἰατρῶν*. See LXIII 4366 introd., 4528 4–5 n.

7 This Flavius Philoxenus has not been attested anywhere else.

8 *στατιωναρ[ίου]*. On *stationarii* and their grades see LXIII 4382 2 n. with the literature cited there; to the examples one can cull from the latest version of the DDBDP (PHI 7) add SB XX 15185.9 (VII). They were originally army officers in charge of police duties, but later the term was used with reference to police officers of a lesser rank. Philoxenus' status designation Flavius squares with a military capacity; and SB XVIII 13251.4–5, only four years earlier than our text (372), attests a *stationarius* of the higher level, Flavius Ammonius. *Stationarii* of the lower sort turn up in 4382 of 383 (or thereabouts, see 1 n.), and from then on most of the *stationarii* who occur in the papyri are of that variety.

10 *ἐπὶ τῆς πόλεως*. Cf. LXIII 4370 12; XLV 3245 14 (297) has *ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ πόλει*.

N. GONIS

#### 4530. UNDERTAKINGS TO SERVE

7 1B1/XI–XII(c)

11.5 × 17 cm

17 and 18 November 288 (?)

The two documents which are preserved formed part of a *τόμος συγκολλησίμος*. The first is mostly complete except for the loss of the first two or three lines; of the



second, apart from the same loss at the top, only the left-hand portion survives. The main hand of both documents is very similar and may well be the same. The back is blank.

Both texts are similar undertakings, on oath, to help with providing bread for the soldiers. In the first the writer specifically states that he will go upriver to work at the bakery at Panopolis and the same was probably true in the second document. The drafting of tradesmen for this and similar purposes is discussed by F. Oertel, *Die Liturgie*, 82–88 and 431, who stresses that it was a practice which had developed by the early Byzantine period into (p. 85) 'ein allgemeines System der Beschaffung von Arbeitskräften für staatliche Betriebe'. In addition to the evidence quoted by Oertel see that referred to by E. Wipszycka, *Chr. d'Ég.* 35 (1960) 214–15, and H. Braunert, *Die Binnenwanderung*, 314–5; add XLVI **3308**. In **4530** the tradesmen are bakers. The requisitioning of the services of bakers from the Arsinoite for bakeries at Memphis is attested in P. Sakaon 23 = P. Théad. 38 (324) and for bakeries at Alexandria in P. Sakaon 25 iv = P. Théad. 36 (327), and of bakers from the Panopolite to serve in τὰ κάκτρα in the Upper Thebaid in P. Beatty Panop. 1.77–9, 188–91. On similar services required for the army in Egypt in the Diocletianic period see A. K. Bowman, *BASP* 15 (1978) 34–38.

It is noteworthy that the writer of the first document has provided no less than three guarantors, all of them comarchs, whereas the writer of the second provides the usual single guarantor. Formally the oaths sworn by the writers of **4530** are more or less identical to those sworn by liturgists or their guarantors, of which lists are given in N. Lewis, *Compulsory Public Services of Roman Egypt*,<sup>2</sup> 117, and W. M. Brashear, *BGU* XIII, p. 68. For similar oaths sworn by persons other than liturgists see Lewis, *op. cit.* 84, n. 17, and A. Jördens, *P. Heid.* V, pp. 205–6. The addressee in both documents is lost but was undoubtedly the strategus. He is the recipient of all undertakings of this kind until the introduction of the logistes at the beginning of the fourth century (cf. Lewis, *op. cit.* 84). The most remarkable feature of the present papyrus is that it comes from the Heracleopolite nome, to which all the four villages mentioned belong. This would not be surprising in the Roman period; at that time strategi served in a nome which was not their idia and we have numerous papyri which they must have brought back with them to their home nome after their period of service elsewhere was over. Are we to suppose from the present document that this was still the rule in the early years of Diocletian's reign? This would be the easiest explanation for the presence of this papyrus at Oxyrhynchus; cf. perhaps XLIII **3123** with line 3 n.

The texts were written on two consecutive days, but the year is uncertain. It belongs to the period when Diocletian and Maximian were sole emperors, i.e. before the creation of the Caesars on 1 March 293. The extreme limits therefore are 17–18 November 285 to 17–18 November 292. Year 5 and 4 seems the least improbable reading, but the figures are very damaged and cannot be regarded as at all certain; see further line 38 n. We have no evidence for special military activity in the Panopolite region at this time, in contrast to the middle and late 290s, for which see Bowman, *BASP* 15 (1978) 25–38.

## Col i

- [ c. 14 ] . [ . . . ] . [ c. 5 ]  
 [Κο]λινταθ[ύ]ρ . [ . ] . Νίνω. ὁμολο-  
 [γῶ ὁ]μνὺς τὴν τῶν κυρίων ἡμῶ(ν)  
 [Διοκλ]ητιανοῦ καὶ Μαξιμianoῦ  
 5 [Cεβ]αστῶν τύχην ἀνελθεῖν  
 [ἐπὶ] τὴν Πανὸς πόλιν καὶ ὑπηρε-  
 [τήσας]θαι τῷ καθαρουργίῳ τῷ ὑπη-  
 [ρετο]υμένῳ τῇ εὐθeneία τῶν  
 γενναιοτάτων στρατιωτῶν καὶ  
 10 παραμενεῖν ἐκεῖσε ἄχρις ἀπολύ-  
 σεως ἢ ἔνοχο[ς] εἶην τῷ ὄρκῳ.  
 παρέσχον δὲ ἑαυτοῦ ἐγγυητὰς  
 Αὐρηλίους Ἀμμών[ιο]ν Ελ . ου  
 ἀπὸ Τωοῦ καὶ Cαραπίω[ν]α Ἀτρήους  
 15 [ἀ]πὸ Νίνω καὶ Cωτήριχον Γερμα-  
 [νο]ῦ ἀπ[ὸ] Κολιν[τα]θῦρ πάντας κω-  
 [μάρχας καὶ ἐπε]ρωτηθεῖς ὁμολόγησα.  
 [(ἔτους) . Διοκλ]ητιανοῦ καὶ (ἔτους) . S/Μαξιμianoῦ  
 [τῶν κ]υρίων ἡμῶν C[ε]βαστῶν Ἀθὺρ κᾱ.  
 20 (m. 2) [Αὐρήλιο]ς Μέλας ὅμασα τὸν ὄρκον  
 [ὥς πρόκειτ]αι. Αὐρήλιοι Ἀμμώνιος καὶ Cαρα-  
 [πίων καὶ] Cωτήριχος ἐγγυόμεθα αὐτὸν  
 [καὶ ὡ]μῶσα'μεν' ὥς πρόκειται. Αὐρήλιος  
 [ . . . ἔγρ]αψα ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν γράμματα  
 25 [μὴ εἰδότη]ν.

## Col ii

- (m. 1?) Διο]κλητι[α]ν[οῦ] καὶ  
 Μαξιμ[ι]ανοῦ Cεβαστ[ῶν] τύχην ἀν-]  
 ελεύεσθαι ἐπὶ τὴν [Πανὸς πόλιν]  
 καὶ ὑπηρετήσασθαι . . . [ c. 6 ]

- 30 ἐργατικῶς ὑπηρετο[υμένῳ τῇ]  
 ἄρτοποιεῖα τῶν γεγ[ναιοτάτων]  
 στρατιωτῶν καὶ π[αραμενεῖν]  
 ἄχρις ἀπολύσεως. [παρέσχον δὲ τῆς]  
 ἑμαυτοῦ παραμο[νῆς ἐγγυητὴν Αὐρή-]  
 35 λιον Ἀνοῦπιν Λεο[ c. 10 ἀπὸ]  
 κώμης Σώβθεω[ς καὶ ἐπερωτηθεὶς]  
 ὡμολόγ(ησα). vacat [  
 (ἔτους) ἑS/ καὶ . . . δS/ τῶ[ν κυρίων ἡμῶν]  
 [Διο]κλητίαν[οῦ καὶ Μαξιμιανοῦ Σεβαστῶν]  
 40 [Α]θὺρ κβ. (m. 3) Αὐρή[λιος c. 7 ]  
 ὥμασα τὸν ὄρ[κον ὡς πρόκειται.]  
 [Α]ὐρήλιος Ἀνοῦ[πις ἐγγυῶμαι αὐ-]  
 [τὸ]ν ὡς πρόκειται[ι. c. 12 ]  
 . . . ὑαρ ἔγραψα [ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν ἀ-]  
 45 γραμμάτων.[

3 ημῶ	6 ὑπηρε-	7 ὑπη- l. καθαρουργεῖω	12 ἐγγυητας	18 L	20 l.
ὥμοσα	22 l. ἐγγυώμεθα	23 ὠ]μόσα' μὲν': alpha corrected from omega	29 l. ὑπηρετήσεσθαι?		
see note	35 λιον corrected from λιουσ	37 ὡμολογ	38 L	41 l. ὥμοσα	

'... Kolintathyr and(?) Nino. I agree, swearing by the genius of our lords Diocletian and Maximian Augusti, to go upriver to Panopolis and to serve in the bakery which is serving the provisioning of the most noble soldiers and to remain there until release or may I be liable to (the penalties of) the oath. I have provided as my sureties Aurelii Ammonius son of ... from Toou and Sarapion son of Hatres from Nino and Soterichus son of Germanus from Kolintathyr, all comarchs, and in answer to the formal question I have given my assent.

Year 5(?) of Diocletian and year 4(?) of Maximian our lords the Augusti, Hathy 21.  
 (2nd hand) 'I, Aurelius Melas have sworn the oath as aforesaid.

'We, Aurelii Ammonius and Sarapion and Soterichus, guarantee him and have sworn as aforesaid.

'I, Aurelius ..., have written on their behalf as they do not know letters.'

(1st hand?) '... by the genius of Diocletian and Maximian Augusti to go upriver to Panopolis and to serve ... efficiently(?) serving the baking of bread for the most noble soldiers and to remain until release. I have furnished as surety for my remaining Aurelius Anupis son of Leo ... of the village of Sobthis and in answer to the formal question I have given my assent.

‘Year 5(?) and year 4(?) of our lords Diocletian and Maximian Augusti, Hathyr 22.’  
(3rd hand) ‘I, Aurelius ..., have sworn the oath as aforesaid.

‘I, Aurelius Anupis, act as surety for him as aforesaid.

‘I, Aurelius Pouar(?), have written on their behalf as they are illiterate.’

<sup>2</sup> [Κο]λινταθ[υ]ρ .[.] Νίνω: both villages are attested for the Heracleopolite nome, although for Nino A. Calderini, S. Daris, *Dizionario*, III 363, give only one reference, SPP X 5.7 (where it is mentioned next to Kolintathyr); Suppl. I 210 adds BGU XIV 2429.6. For Κολινταθύρ (also attested as Κολλινταθύρ or Κολ(λ)ιντααθύρ) see *Dizionario*, III 132 and Suppl. I 176.

The obvious restoration is κ[α]ῖ Νίνω, but the occurrence of two village names at this point is hard to explain. One would expect ὁμολογῶ to have been preceded by the idia of the person(s) concerned, which cannot be the case here: only one man is swearing the oath and so cannot have two village names for his idia. The possibility has been considered that we have a single village described as [Κο]λινταθ[υ]ρ π[ε]ρὶ Νίνω. This could be a way of describing Kolintathyr as a village in the toparchy of Περὶ Νίνω, since the majority of toparchies in the Heracleopolite were entitled Περὶ followed by the name of the principal settlement, see BGU XIV, App. 1; cf. M. R. Falivene, *Proc. XXth Int. Congress*, 204–9. The objections are (1): no toparchy Περὶ Νίνω is otherwise attested and there is strong reason to think that Kolintathyr belonged in the toparchy Περὶ Τέκμι (see, e.g., BGU XIV 2437); (2) there is not really room for π[ε]ρὶ and we ought to see the descender of the rho. It seems therefore that we have to restore κ[α]ῖ Νίνω. The solution to the problem may lie in the fact that comarchs of three different villages act as his surety in lines 12–17, and we may therefore have the end of a clause stating that he is performing his public service on behalf of the three villages Τωοῦ καὶ Κο]λινταθ[υ]ρ κ[α]ῖ Νίνω. It was quite normal at this period for several villages to share the responsibility for supplying a single tradesman, see, e.g., XII 1426, P. Sakaon 23, PSI IX 1037; cf. P. Michaelid. 28.

<sup>3–5</sup> For the form of the oath see K. A. Worp, *ZPE* 45 (1982) 200.

<sup>6</sup> For bakers at Panopolis serving troops there see P. Beatty Panop. 1.374–7, with Skeat’s comments in the general introduction, p. xiii. This relates to 297 and 298, when there may have been special reasons for troops to be at Panopolis. For the supplying of troops and sailors at Panopolis with bread in large quantities in 281 see VIII 1115.

<sup>7</sup> τῷ καθαρουργίῳ: for καθαρουργεῖον and the related trade of καθαρουργός see Emanuela Battaglia, ‘*Artos*’, *Il lessico della panificazione nei papiri greci*, 145, 186–7.

<sup>12 ff.</sup> Nearly all comparable documents mention only a single surety, although two sureties occasionally occur. Three sureties for a single person is very unusual. It may be connected with the fact that the sureties are comarchs; cf. the occurrence of village πρεσβύτεροι as a body acting as sureties in PSI VII 734 and P. Oxy. Hels. 20. For comarchs as sureties cf. P. Michaelid. 28, PSI III 162 and P. Vindob. Sijp. 5.

<sup>13</sup> ΕΛ. ον: Ἐλέγου is not probable.

<sup>14</sup> Τωοῦ: also attested as Τωύ; see *Dizionario* V 44.

<sup>18–19</sup> If line 38 is correctly taken to refer to years 5 and 4 of Diocletian and Maximian, we should expect the date here to belong to the same year; the figure for Maximian’s year-number is far from clear, but delta is not impossible. The titles of Diocletian and Maximian are very rarely attested in the form found here. R. S. Bagnall and K. A. Worp, *Regnal Formulas*, 6, quote only SB V 8199 and PSI III 184.19–20, to which we can now add L 3571 17–18. It is noteworthy that both the last two texts are also from the Heracleopolite.

<sup>26–27</sup> The restoration at the end of line 26 is noticeably shorter than those in the lines following, which are mostly reasonably secure and in any case cannot be shorter. No other restoration seems possible, however; there is certainly not room to give Maximian’s full names.

<sup>28</sup> The restoration is of course not certain, but it suits the space and it is reasonable to suppose that both documents refer to the drafting of tradesmen to Panopolis.

<sup>29–30</sup> After ὑπηρετήσασθαι (no doubt intended for the future) it is not possible to read τῷ (as in line 7). The first letter is rounded and is most probably epsilon or sigma; a possible reading is ἐν τ[ῷ], but καθαρουργίῳ τῷ is much too long for the space available after this.

<sup>30</sup> ἐργατικῶς ὑπηρετο[υμένων]: the adverb ἐργατικῶς does not seem to have occurred before in the papyri and instances of the adjective, nearly all of which are used with reference to donkeys, are not helpful in the



present context (it is not possible to read ἐργατικῶν with, e.g., ὄνων in the previous line). τὸ ἐργατικόν, which occurs in 4544 7, is equally enigmatic. It may be worth comparing P. Flor. II 157, a letter ordering sustenance to be provided for workers ἵνα ὑπηρετούμενοι προθύμως ἡμῖν ἐργάζωνται, where προθύμως is no doubt to be taken with the participle as well as the main verb. ὑπηρετεῖσθαι is nearly always used personally in the papyri, which might suggest that we should restore ὑπηρετο[ύμενος (the future participle is not possible). But the presence of ὑπηρετήσασθαι in the previous line as well as the formula used in lines 6–8 supports the restoration proposed, however we restore the words before ἐργατικῶς.

31 On ἀρτοποι(ε)ία see CPR IX 26.21 n. and Battaglia, op. cit. 132–3. For the supplying of ἄρτος to soldiers at this period cf. XII 1572, XLIII 3124, P. Sakaon 20 and 21 ii (= P. Flor. 60 and P. Théad. 31).

32 There is not room to supply ἐκεῖσε (as in line 10); there may just be room for ἐκεῖ, but it is not essential.

35 Instead of ἀπό, κωμάρχην is a possibility; cf. lines 16–17.

36 Cώβθεω[ς: a village in the Περὶ Πόλιν toparchy; see *Dizionario* IV 326 and Suppl. I 237. For links between villages in this toparchy and those in Περὶ Τέκμι (cf. line 2 n.) see Falivene, art. cit. 205.

38 The reading is very uncertain. Just before the papyrus breaks off we have the top of a reasonably clear delta, but the marks which follow rule out the reading Διοκλητιανοῦ. These marks are probably to be interpreted as part of a spiral sign and an oblique dash, such as regularly follow year numbers at this period. The figure at the start of the line, after the symbol for ἔτους, is a fairly certain epsilon (theta is less probable). It is most likely therefore that the document is to be dated to years 5 and 4 of Diocletian and Maximian. The problem is that there are ink marks between καὶ and the probable delta, which would appear to serve no purpose.

44 . . . ναρ: ωρ is less probable. Πουάρ is possible, with Αὐρήλιος in the preceding line.

45 There is a space after ἀ]γγραμμάτων, which suggests ὄντων was not written.

J. DAVID THOMAS

#### 4531. REPORT TO THE STRATEGUS

17 2B.56/D(c)

6.8 × 18.5 cm

28 June 196

Harpocraton son of Harpocraton, ex-secretary of property formerly belonging to Julius Theon, was required by a centurion to go to the Hermopolite nome to take action in connection with grain taxes owing. As he was prevented from doing this by illness, he arranged with another man of the same name, Harpocraton son of Ophellion, to perform the duty in his stead. This arrangement needed to be ratified by the centurion (19–21) and reported to the strategus.

For Julius Theon, see P. J. Sijpesteijn, *The Family of the Tiberii Iulii Theones* (*Studia Amstelodamensia* 5, 1976); L 3588; LXII 4336; J. Rowlandson, *Landowners and Tenants in Roman Egypt* (1996) 107–8. We already knew that the family had estates in the Hermopolite as well as the Oxyrhynchite, see P. Theon. 11.

The main hand is neat and mostly unligatured. The back is blank.

Λουκρητίω Νείλω στρ(ατηγῶ)

παρὰ Ἀρποκρατίωνος

Ἀρποκρατίωνος θέσει

Ἀσκληὰ ἀπ' Ὀξυρύγχων

- 5 πόλεως γενομένου γραμ-  
 ματέως [τ]ῶν πρότερον  
 Ἰο[υ]λίου Θέωνος. ἐξ ἐ(ν)-  
 κελεύσεως Αἰμελλίου  
 Ἀμμωνιανῶ ἑκατον-  
 10 τάρχῳ ὁμολογῶ διὰ τῇ(ν)  
 περ[ὶ] ἐμὲ νόσον καὶ ας[.]  
 λιν τῶν κελευσθέντων(ν)  
 ὑπ' αὐτοῦ μετρηθῆνα[ι]  
 εἰς τὸ δημόσιον ἐν πρ[ο-]  
 15 χρεία ὑπὲρ γεωργῶν  
 ἐχθέσεως α (ἔτους) καὶ β (ἔτους) τῶ[ν]  
 αὐτῶν πρότερον Ἰου-  
 λίου Θέωνος συνεστα-  
 κέναι κατὰ τὰ δόξαντα  
 20 τῷ αὐτῷ κρατίστῳ  
 ἑκατοντάρχῳ Ἀρπυ-  
 κρατίωνα Ὀφελλίω-  
 νος μητρὸς Ἀριστῶ-  
 τος ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς πό-  
 25 λεως πορευσόμενον  
 εἰς Ἑρμοπολείτην με-  
 θ' ἧς δίδωμι αὐτῷ χει-  
 ρικῆς ἐχθέσεως τοῦ  
 αὐτοῦ α (ἔτους) καὶ β (ἔτους) καὶ πα-  
 30 ραστήσαντα τοὺς δι'  
 αὐτῆς ὀφείλοντας  
 γεωργοὺς καὶ πάντα  
 ποιήσοντα. (ἔτους) δ  
 Αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος  
 35 Λουκίου Σεπτιμίου  
 Σεουήρου Εὐσεβ[ο]ῦς  
 Περτίνακος Σεβαστοῦ  
 Ἀραβικοῦ Ἀδιαβηνικοῦ[υ,]  
 Ἐπεὶ δ-.

40(m. 2) Ἀρποκρατίων ὁ προτετα—

γμένος ἐπιδέδωκα.

(m. 3) Ἀρποκρατίων Ὁφελίω(νος) εὐδοκῶ.

1 στρς      7 ἰουλιου, ε<sup>-</sup> 1. ἐγκελεύσεως      8 1. Αἰμιλίου      9-10 1. Ἀμμωνιανοῦ ἑκατοντάρχου  
10 τη<sup>-</sup>      12 κελευσθεντω<sup>-</sup>      16 1. ἐκθέσεως; § twice; τ of τῶν corr.      17-18 ἰουλιου  
21-22 1. Ἀρποκρατίωνα      27-8 1. ciτικής ἐκθέσεως      29 ας; a corr. βς      30. 1. -στήσονται  
31 φ of ὀφείλοντας corr. or rewritten      33 L      40 Paragraphus above this line by m. 2      41 δωκα  
a correction      42 οφελι<sup>ω</sup>

'To Lucretius Nilus, strategus, from Harpocraton son of Harpocraton, by adoption son of Asclas, from the city of the Oxyrhynchi, former secretary of the property formerly belonging to Julius Theon. By order of Aemilius Ammonianus, centurion, because of my illness and the . . . quantities ordered by him to be paid to the state in advance on account of the tenant-farmers' arrears for the 1st year and 2nd year for the said property formerly belonging to Julius Theon, I acknowledge that in accordance with the decision of the said most distinguished centurion, I have deputed Harpocraton son of Ophellion, his mother being Aristos, from the same city, to go to the Hermopolite with the list of arrears in grain for the said 1st year and 2nd year, which I hereby give to him, and to produce the tenant-farmers who are named in it as debtors, and to do everything (necessary). Year 4 of Emperor Caesar Lucius Septimius Severus Pius Pertinax Augustus Arabicus Adiabenicus, Epeiph 4.'

(2nd hand) 'I, Harpocraton the aforesaid, presented this.'

(3rd hand) 'I, Harpocraton son of Ophelion, assent.'

1 Lucretius Nilus was already known as strategus of the Oxyrhynchite nome. **4531** provides a new earliest date for his tenure. His nearest known predecessor is Aurelius Apolinarius, in office in 195/6. See Bastianini and Whitehorne, *Strategi and Royal Scribes* 95.

5-6 Α γραμματεὺς of Julius Theon is attested in XXXVIII **2865** (Heras, c. 122/3); also **2867** (name lost, 127).

6-7 Land πρότερον Ἰουλίου Θέωνος is mentioned in XII **1475** 17-18 (267), cf. also P. Erl. 17.7.

8-10 An Aemilius Ammonius, presumably not the same person, is recorded as a centurion of the second cohort of the *legio II Traiana Fortis* in *CIL* III 6580 i 11 = *ILS* 2304 (194), and also in *PSI* VI 704.

11-12 καὶ ας [.]λιαν. A puzzle. ἀρχολίαν, ἀσυλίαν and ἀσφάλ(ε)ιαν have been considered.

20 For the application of κράτιστος to a centurion cf. O. Hornickel, *Ehren- und Rangprädikate* 21.

27-8 For an ἐκθεσις ciτική see II **291** 3-4; P. Laur. II 39.

U. SCHLAG

#### 4532. EXTRACT FROM Βιβλιοθήκη Ἐγκτήσεων

18 2B.71/D(h)

13 × 31 cm

27 January 85

A copy of a contract for the loan of 500 drachmas (for two months?) from Panemgeus to his son Apollonius, extracted from the register of the property record-office of the nome. The loan was obviously registered with the property record-office because of the potential involvement of real property in the event of non-repayment,

see 16. For the record-office (βιβλιοθήκη ἐγκτήσεων) see H. J. Wolff, *Das Recht* (1978) 49–51, 53–5, 222 ff.

For the extract formula, 1, cf. XIV **1649** 1, XXXVIII **2848** 1. Most of the clauses of the loan contract itself are closely paralleled by XLVII **3351** of AD 34 (the date is 20 February, not 27 February, see R. Ziegler, *ZPE* 91 (1992) 92). Like **3351**, **4532** alleges itself to be interest free; for references to discussions of this and other aspects of money loans see **3351** introd.; LXI **4124** 13 n.

None of the persons named appears in B. W. Jones and J. E. G. Whitehorne, *Register of Oxyrhynchites* (ASP 25, 1983).

The line beginnings have been lost, but otherwise the sheet is almost complete, with a deep lower margin of 18 cm in which the horizontal strip construction is very clear, see P. Harr. II 214 introd.

There is a manufacturer's (three layer) kollesis towards the ends of the lines. Immediately to the right of this, the structure is unexpectedly complicated, with signs of an additional overlapping layer of horizontal fibres and of glue staining. This remains unexplained.

The back is blank.

- [ἐκκλημψις ἐκ τῆς τῶν] ἐγκτήσεων τοῦ Ὁξυρυγχείτου βιβλιοθήκης,  
 [χρηματισμῶν ἀγορα]νομικῶν, μέσης τοπαρχίας. ἔτους τετάρτου  
 [Αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος] Δομιτιανοῦ Σεβαστοῦ Γερμανικοῦ, Μεχειρ β<sup>-</sup>,  
 [ἐν κώμῃ Νεμέρων. ἐδάν]εισεν Πανεμγεὺς Πιτσειρίωνος τοῦ Κουώτος  
 5 [μητρὸς c. 10 ἀ]πὸ κώμης Cέσφθα τῆς κάτω τοπαρχίας [[τοῦ]]  
 [καταγινόμενος ἐν] τῇ προκειμένη κώμῃ Νεμέρων τῷ ἑαυτοῦ υἱῷ  
 [Ἀπολλωνίῳ μητρὶ 1–2] ὄντιος τῆς Ἀπολλωνίου Πέρρη τῆς ἐπιγονῆς  
 [ἀργυρίου Σεβα]στοῦ νομίματος δραχμὰς πεντακοσίας,  
 [(γίνονται) (δραχμαὶ) φ κεφαλαίου] αἷς οὐδὲν τῷ καθόλου προσήκται, ἀς  
ἀποδό—  
 10 [τω ὁ προκείμενος Ἀ]πολλώνιος τῷ πατρὶ Πανεμγεὶ τῇ λ<sup>-</sup> τοῦ Φαμενῶθ  
 [μηνὸς ?? Αὐτοκράτορος Καί]σαρος Δομιτιανοῦ Σεβαστοῦ Γερμανικοῦ χωρὶς  
 [πάσης ὑπερθέσεως. ἐ]ὰν δὲ μὴ ἀποδῶι καθὰ γέγραπται, ἀποτεῖ—  
 [τάτω ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος] τῷ πατρὶ Πανεμγεὶ τὸ προκείμενον  
 [κεφάλαιον μεθ' ἡμιο]λίας σὺν τοῖς τοῦ ὑπερπεσόντος χρόνου καθή—  
 15 [κουσι τόκοις, οὔ]σῃς αὐτῷ τῆς πράξεως ἔκ τε τοῦ δεδανεισ—  
 [μένου καὶ ἐκ τῶν ὑπαρ]χόντων αὐτῷ πάντων καθάπερ ἐγ δίκης.  
 [ c.16 ] Πανεμγεὺς ὡς (ἐτῶν) ο ο(ὐλῇ) ῥεινὶ μέση. Ἀπολλῶς  
 [ aged xx ο(ὐλῇ) ἀντικ]λημ(ίω) ἀριστερῶι. ὁ γράψας Λε . . . c ὡς (ἐτῶν)  
κε ἄσημ(ος).



1 1. ἐγκτήσεων, Ὀξυρρυχίτου 4 ν of Πανεμγεύς a correction 12 Line filler at end 16 1.  
 17 L Form of abbreviation of οὐλή not clear 1. ῥινί 18 ἀντικ]νη<sup>μ</sup>, L, αση<sup>μ</sup>

'Extract from the property record-office of the Oxyrhynchite, (from the section) deeds drawn up in the *agoranomeion*, (referring to the) middle toparchy. The fourth year of Emperor Caesar Domitianus Augustus Germanicus, Mecheir 2, in the village of Nemerom. Panemgeus son of Petsirion and grandson of Cuos, his mother being x, from the village of Sesphta in the lower toparchy, residing in the aforesaid village of Nemerom, has loaned to his own son Apollonius, whose mother is -onis daughter of Apollonius, Persian of the Epigone, five hundred drachmas of silver of Augustan coinage, total 500 drachmas as capital to which absolutely nothing has been added, which the aforesaid Apollonius is to repay to his father Panemgeus on the 30th of the month Phamenoth ... Emperor Caesar Domitianus Augustus Germanicus without any delay. But if he does not repay in accordance with what has been written, Apollonius is to pay his father Panemgeus the aforesaid principal plus one half together with the appropriate interest for the excess time, Panemgeus retaining the right of execution upon the borrower and upon all his property as if in consequence of a lawsuit. [ ?? ] Panemgeus, aged about 70, with a scar on the middle of his nose. Apollos [aged . . with a scar] on the left shin. The writer Le- aged about 25, without distinguishing mark.'

2 For ἀγορανομικοὶ χρηματισμοί cf. I 99 19, XXXIV 2720 7; also III 483 19-20, IX 1209 10-11, LX 4058 11-12.

6 Νεμέρων. We suppose the village was already named in 4. See P. Pruneti, *I centri abitati dell' Ossirinchi* 114-5. The village is known to have been in the middle toparchy, hence no doubt the reference to that toparchy in 2 here.

8 The supplement seems short for the space. Perhaps ἐν ἀγνυῖα preceded, cf. III 506 11, XLIX 3485 6-7.

11 Restoration of the beginning of this line is a problem, since we still require a statement of the year (τοῦ αὐτοῦ x (ἔτους) ?) and what is transcribed is already too long. I do not think that we have Αὐτοκράτ]ορος, i.e. that Καίσαρος was omitted. Most likely the repayment date was set for 30 Phamenoth in the same (4th, see 2) year, a two-month loan.

17-18 The last line and a half are written smaller and more rapidly, but are probably the work of the same hand: Πανεμγεύς at least in 17 is in the same hand as what precedes, and the style has changed by the line end, providing no suitable intervening point for a change of hand.

J. L. CALVO MARTÍNEZ

### 4533. WILL

8 1B.192/H (2-3)b

(a) 23 × 13 cm  
 (b) 6.5 × 9 cm

Late first/early second century

The papyrus contains the will of a man named Achilles. Lines 1-19 are made up of four joining fragments. A smaller fragment (b) belongs below this, although its exact position is uncertain; see the note to lines 20-22. There are some offsets on the back. A list of wills was given by O. Montevecchi in *Aegyptus* 15 (1935) 67-72, who included over 30 from Oxyrhynchus (several only published as *descripta*). This list was updated

by her in *La papirologia*, 208, and further examples are given in the introductions to P. Wisc. I 13 and P. Köln II 100. These two texts are to be added to Montevecchi's list of Oxyrhynchite wills in *Aegyptus*, as are PSI XII 1263, XX **2283**, XXII **2348**, XXVII **2474** and XXXVIII **2857**. The best discussion from a legal point of view of the type of will found in **4533** is still that by H. Kreller, *Erbrechtliche Untersuchungen* (1919).

Palaeographical considerations suggest the papyrus is to be dated to the second half of the first or the first half of the second century, the period from which nearly all examples of wills from Oxyrhynchus come. Most of the datable examples belong in the reign of Hadrian, but I **104** dates from the reign of Domitian and III **489** from that of Trajan. **4533** may be Hadrianic, but regnal titles of Vespasian also regularly end with *Κεβαστοῦ*, and there are occasional examples from the reigns of Domitian, Nerva and Trajan; see further line 8 n.

Like the majority of contemporary Oxyrhynchite wills (see III **489**, introd.) it is written across the fibres. The formula used in several of these is more or less identical and it is clear that **4533** follows the usual pattern, thus enabling us to supplement most of the lost part at the left; the closest parallel is III **491** (126). The wording of lines 2 and 8 in particular appears certain, so that the length of the line can be firmly established.

If the supplement in lines 11–12 is correct (cf. line 6), and there is surely not room for anything more to have been included, Achilles merely states that the legatees are to be heirs of πάντων ὧν ἐὰν ἀπολείπω καθ' ὀνηροτοῦν τρόπον. This is unusual in wills from the Roman period, which normally specify the particular property etc. which the testator is bequeathing. The wording here is reminiscent of some of the Petrie wills from the 3rd century BC, e.g. P. Petrie Wills 14.10–11, καταλείπω τὰ ὑπάρχ[ον]τά μοι πάντα; these are described as 'general legacies' by the editor in his table of the wills on pp. 26–9. More remarkable is the fact that Achilles is naming as his heirs (assuming the restorations in lines 4 and 10 are correct) ἀ ἐὰν ἔχω τέκνα καὶ Ἀμόιν καὶ Ζωίλον (note that nowhere does the writer add a diaeresis in either name). Amois and Zoilus were probably related to Achilles in some way (cf. line 5 n.). It is also unusual for the testator to state that any children he may subsequently have are to be his heirs in addition to the named heirs. Presumably at the time he made his will Achilles was childless and, since no mention is made of a wife, unmarried.

None of the persons attested in **4533** figures in B. W. Jones and J. E. G. Whitehorne, *Register of Oxyrhynchites*, 30 BC–AD 96.

- [ἔτους c. 38]      Cε[βαστοῦ μη]ν[ο]ς Νέου] Cεβαστοῦ ἰγ' ἐν Ὁξ(υρύγχων) πόλει τῆς  
 Θηβαίδος ἀγαθῇ τύχηι. vacat  
 [τάδε διέθετο νοῶν καὶ φρονῶν Ἀχιλλᾶς Ἡρακλείου τοῦ Θ]έωνος μητρ[ο]ς T[απ]οντώτος Νααρωούτος ἀπὸ  
 Ὁξυρύγχων πόλεως ἐν ἀγυιά. ἐφ' ὃν μὲν περίεμι χρόνον ἔχειν με  
 [τὴν τῶν ἰδίων ἐξουσίαν ὃ ἐὰν βούλωμαι ἐπιτελεῖν καὶ μεταδια]τιθεσθαι καὶ ἀκυροῦν τὴν διαθήκην ταύτην, ὃ  
 δ' ἂν ἐπιτελέσω κύριον ὑπάρχειν. ἐὰν δ' ἐπὶ τῇδε τῇ διαθήκῃ  
 [τελευτήσω καταλείπω κληρονόμους ἃ ἐὰν ἔχω τέκνα καὶ] Ἀμόιν καὶ Ζωίλον ἀμφοτέρους Ἀτρέως τοῦ Ἀλεξάτος  
 [πόλεως c. 13]      ἐξ ἔσου ἐκάτερον δ' αὐτῶν ἐὰν] ζῇ, εἰ δὲ μὴ τὰ τούτου τέκνα, ἐὰν δὲ μὴ ἔχω τέκνα μόνους  
 [καὶ Ζωίλον ἢ τὸν ἀπ' αὐτῶν περιόντα πάντων ὧν ἐὰν ἀπολίπ]ω καθ' ὀνηποτοῦν τρόπον, ἐπὶ τῷ τοῦς  
 τοῦς προγεγραμμένοις [Ἀ]μόν  
 [τὸν ἕνα τῆς τελευτῆς μου c. 16]      ἃς δι[ατάσσω αὐτῷ ἀργυρίου δραχμὰς εἴκοσι, οὐκ οὔσης οὐδενὶ τῷ καθόλου  
 ἐξουσίας παραβαίνειν, τὸν  
 [δὲ παραβησόμενον ἀποτύνειν τῷ ἐμμένοντι τό τε β]λάβος καὶ ἐπίτιμον ἀργυρίου δραχμὰς πεντακοσίας καὶ εἰς τὸ  
 δημόσιον τὰς ἴσας καὶ μῆδὲν ἥσσον  
 [κύρια μένειν τὰ προκείμενα. ἡ διαθήκη κυρία. (m. 2) Ἀχιλλ]ᾶς Ἡρακλείου τοῦ Θέωνος πεποίμαι τὴν διαθήκην  
 καὶ μετὰ τε—  
 [λευτήν μου καταλείπω κληρονόμους ἃ ἐὰν] ἔχω τέκνα καὶ Ἀμόιν καὶ Ζωίλον ἀμφοτέρους Ἀτρέως ἐξ ἔσου, ἐὰν  
 [δὲ μὴ ἔχω τέκνα μόνους τοὺς Ἀμόιν καὶ Ζωίλ]ον ἢ τὸν ἀπ' αὐτῶν περιόντα πάντων ὧν ἐὰν ἀπολίπω καθ' ὃν—  
 [δηποτοῦν τρόπον, ἐπὶ τῷ τοῦς διαδεξα]μένους τὰ ἡμέτερα δοῦναι μεθ' ἐνιαυτὸν ἕνα τῆς τελεῖς—  
 [τῆς μου c. 12] ἀργυρίου δραχμὰς] εἴκοσι ὡς πρόκειται. εἰμὶ (ἐτῶν) μὲν ο(ὐλῇ) παρ' ὧμον ἀριστερὸν καὶ  
 [ἔστω μου ἡ cφραγίς c. 14]      ] . . ολ( ) τοῦ Γλ[α]υκίου μητρὸς Cαμβούτος ἔγραψα ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἐξα—

- 15 [νεψίου μου μὴ εἰδότης γράμματα καὶ εἰ]μὶ (ἐτῶν) ν ἄσημος. (m. 3) Θεομώρης Θεομώριος τοῦ Θεομώριος  
μητρὸς Δημαροῦτος ἀπὸ τῆς α(ὑτῆς)  
[πόλεως μαρτυρῶ τῇ τοῦ Ἀχιλλᾶτος διαθήκη καὶ εἰμὶ ἐτῶν ἐξήκοντα τεσσάρων οὐλὴ πορ' ὀφρύνι ἀριστερᾷ καὶ  
ἔστιν μου ἡ σφραγὶς προδομῆς Σαράπιδος. (m. 4) Ἐκά-  
[των  
[ (m. 5?) ]θον. [.] [.] [.] [.] νης E[ῡ]δαίμονος τοῦ Διογενοῦς μητρὸς  
Ἰσιδώρας ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς πόλεως  
[μαρτυρῶ τῇ τοῦ Ἀχιλλᾶτος διαθήκη καὶ εἰμὶ ἐτῶν] [.] [ c. 7 ἀρις]τερῶ καὶ ἔστιν μου ἡ σφρ[αγὶς]  
20 [(m. 6) ] . . . . . [.] [.] [.] [.]  
[(m. 7) καὶ] ες. . . μ[ο]ν ἡ σφραγὶς Ἐρμού [ ]  
[(m. 8) μαρτυρῶ τῇ τοῦ Ἀχιλλᾶτος διαθήκη καὶ εἰμὶ ἐτῶν [ ]  
1 οἶ  
13 1. πρόκειται; μδῶπαρ; δ corrected (from ε?) and α corrected 6 διαδεξαμενους, 2nd α corrected from ο; 1. μετ', so 1. 12 11 παντων, ων corrected 12 τελε  
14 ] . . . ο'; αμβουτος, τ corrected from δ 15 L; ā 16 1. παρ', προτομή



'Year x of ... Augustus, 13th of the month Neos Sebastos, in the city of Oxyrhynchi in the Thebaid. For good fortune.

'Achillas son of Heracleius the son of Theon whose mother is Tapontos the daughter of Naarous of the city of the Oxyrhynchi has made this will in the street being sane and in his right mind. So long as I survive I am to have the power over my own property to make any further provisions or new dispositions I choose and to revoke this will, and any further provisions I make are to be valid. But if I die with this will unaltered I leave as my heirs any children I may have and Amois and Zoilus, both sons of Hatres the son of Alexas, their mother being Heraclous the daughter of Archias, of the same city ... in equal shares, each of them if he lives but if not his children, and if I have no children, solely the aforementioned Amois and Zoilus or whichever one of them survives, of all that I leave in any way whatsoever, on condition that those inheriting our property give within(?) one year from my death to ... the twenty silver drachmas which I bequeath him; no one at all is to have power to contravene these provisions and any person contravening them is to forfeit to the party abiding by them the damages and a fine of five hundred silver drachmas and an equal sum to the treasury, and the foregoing provisions shall none the less remain binding. The will is binding.'

(2nd hand) 'I, Achillas son of Heracleius the son of Theon, have made my will and after my death I leave as heirs any children I may have and Amois and Zoilus, both sons of Hatres, in equal shares, and if I have no children, solely Amois and Zoilus or whichever one of them survives, of all that I leave in any way whatsoever, on condition that those inheriting our property give within(?) one year of my death to ... twenty silver drachmas as aforesaid. I am 44 years old with a scar on the left shoulder and my seal is ... I, son of ... the son of Glaucias whose mother is Sambous, have written on behalf of my second cousin who does not know letters, and I am 50 years old without scar.'

(3rd hand) 'I, Thomoeris son of Thomoeris the son of Thomoeris whose mother is Demarous, of the same city, bear witness to the will of Achillas and I am sixty-four years old with a scar on the left eyebrow and my seal is the bust of Sarapis.'

(4th hand) 'I, Hecaton ... whose mother is Taammonion(?) of the same city, bear witness to the will of Achillas and I am ... years old ...'

(5th hand) 'I, ... son of Eudaemon the son of Diogenes whose mother is Isidora of the same city, bear witness to the will of Achillas and I am ... years old with a scar on the left ... and my seal is ...'

(6th hand) '...'

(7th hand) '... and my seal is Hermes.'

(8th hand) '... bear witness to the will of Achillas and I am ... years old ...'

1 On the date see the introduction.

ἐν Ὁξύρρυγχων πόλει τῆς Θηβαίδος: this is the normal description of Oxyrhynchus in the early Roman period, even though it was not part of the Thebaid administrative district at this time but belonged in the Heptanomia; see J. David Thomas, *Ptolemaic Epistrategos*, 125–31. The description is rare after the middle of the second century, the latest example being III 495 from the 180s.

3 The supplement seems to be slightly long, but is the shortest of any of those found in parallel documents.

4 The supplement at the start follows the standard formula. After it, ἀ ἐὰν ἔχω τέκνα καὶ suits the size of the lacuna and would appear to be certain in view of line 10 and the words ἐὰν δὲ μὴ ἔχω τέκνα in line 5. Provision for leaving property to children who may be born subsequently is occasionally mentioned in wills. In III 495 4 the testator leaves his son as heir if he is still alive, εἰ δὲ μὴ, ἀ ἐὰν ἔχ[η τέκν]α καὶ τὰ ἐπεσόμενά μοι ἕτερα τέκνα ἢ ἐὰν μὴ γένηται μοι ἕτερα τέκνα[. In P. Petrie Wills 17 the testator leaves his property to his wife and (line 25) ἐάν τί μοι ἐπιγένηται ἐξ αὐτῆς παιδίον (cf. the editor's note ad loc.). In BGU VII 1654 a man's heirs are his children and (probably) any γεννη[ο]μένοι μοι τέκν[ο]ις. The situation in the present text, however, where the property is to go to named heirs together with any children which the testator may subsequently have, is, so far as I can see, without parallel.

Ἀτρέως: as Youtie pointed out, *Scriptiunculae* I 382 = *TAPA* 94 (1963) 330 n. 10, there is no doubt that Ἀτρέως is sometimes used as the genitive of Ἀτρῆς rather than the genitive of Ἀτρεύς. On the genitives of names in -ῆς see F. T. Gignac, *Grammar* II 72–74; he recognises that the genitive can end in -εως but does not quote this in the case of Ἀτρῆς (but he does quote it for Φατρῆς). In the Roman period Ἀτρῆς is far commoner than Ἀτρεύς. Indeed, from this period I know of only one certain example of Ἀτρεύς, P. Heid. IV 320.1 (138).

5 Before ἐξ ἵκου the relationship of Amois and Zoilus to Achilles was presumably stated.

6 ἡμέτερα: the plural (also used in line 12) is unexpected.

6–7 It is quite common to find a small bequest for someone other than the main legatee(s), see E. Husselman, *TAPA* 88 (1957) 136–7. Examples I have noted are I 104 25, III 583, 649, BGU IV 1151.6, P. Fay. 97.13, Stud. Pal. IV 116, P. Kron. 50.7 ff., P. Ups. Frid 1.16–17, SB VIII 9642(1).12–14 and (3).11–12. The closest parallel to the wording used here is I 104 22–5 (cf. BL V), where the principal legatee is the woman's son, but the testator adds καὶ δώσει ὁ αὐ[τῷ]ς υἱὸς to the woman's daughter by her present husband [μ]ετ[ἀ] τὴν τοῦ ἀνδρό[ς] μου τελευτήν ἐν ἡμέραις τριάκοντα ἅς δια[τάσσ]ω αὐτῇ ἀργ[υρίου] (δραχμὰς) τεσσαράκοντα. There the meaning is clear; here the problem is that the sense we expect is 'within one year of my death', but μετὰ normally means 'after' (cf. *LSJ* s.v. C.11.2).

αὐτῷ proves that the name of this beneficiary must already have occurred earlier in this same line.

8 ἀργυρίου δραχμὰς πεντακοσίας: in other wills the penalty is usually 1000 drachmas, although higher amounts are attested: 2000 dr. in III 493 (undated), 3000 dr. in III 495 (180s), and 2 talents in III 494 (156) and PSI XII 1263 (undated). No other will has a penalty as low as 500 dr. The earliest attestation of 1000 dr. is III 489 of 117, which perhaps suggests that 4533 is earlier than 117 (but cf. lines 16–17 n.).

10 The restoration suggested fits neatly into the available space, since the sprawling second hand is somewhat larger than the first hand.

14 ff. For a list of seals attested in wills see P. Wisc. I, p. 53.

14–15 ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἐξα[νέψιου]. ἐξα is certain and, since we do not expect a name at this point, there would seem to be no alternative to the rare word ἐξανέψιος, attested in the papyri elsewhere only in II 270 4 and III 502 14; also in the inscription I. Alex. 29.16 = SB V 8780.

15 The name Θεομοῆρις is not attested elsewhere.

16–17 A man by the name of Hecaton, son of Sarapion and grandson of Hecaton, witnesses a will in I 105 14 of the reign of Hadrian; see also VI 968 (early 2nd cent.). The name is not common and he may well be the same man in all three documents. The hands in 105 and 968 are certainly the same and could be the same as the hand in 4533. If it is the same man, his seal is Sarapis.

17 ]μμωνίου: the pattern in the other entries suggests at this point the mother's name, in which case we should no doubt supply Ταα]μμωνίου.

18 The point at which the fifth hand began is uncertain. ]θον[ may belong to the fourth hand, but it does not seem possible to read σφραγὶς Ἀ]θηνᾶ[ς, as in, e.g., III 491 18 and 25.

20–22 Although this fragment cannot be attached to the main part of the will, it is very unlikely that any line has been completely lost. The text no doubt contained signatures by the usual six witnesses (hence the suggestion that line 20 is in a different hand from the lines preceding and following).

As there is a (horizontal) kollesis at the top edge of the small fragment, there is very limited scope for fibre comparison between the two fragments. Nevertheless, there are strong reasons for supposing that the small piece belonged at the extreme right. In the first place there is a space at the end of line 21 after Ἐρμού, which suggests the edge of the papyrus is preserved in this line. Secondly, parallels (e.g. I 105, III 489, 491, 634, Stud. Pal. IV 116) suggest that the registration mark of the record office should have been entered; for

example, **489** 31-3 has *μν]ημονείου Ὁξυρύγχ(ων) πόλ(εως)*, followed by the date, then by *διαθήκη* and the name of the testator. If this was recorded in the left-hand part of the papyrus, as occurs for example in **105**, we would then have a satisfactory explanation for why no trace of this is to be seen and why the five centimetres of papyrus remaining below line 22 are blank.

21 *ες* . . : *ἔστι(ν)* must have been intended but does not seem to have been written; the letter after *ες* looks like another sigma.

On the back, at the top left, there appear to be traces of four or five short lines written along the fibres, but in reality these are no more than offsets.

J. DAVID THOMAS

#### 4534. LEASE OF A LOOM

13 1B.128/H(a)

15.5 × 23.5 cm

2 October 335

Aurelius Gunthus leases a weaver's loom for a year to Flavius Ision, a soldier, and Dioscorammon, a weaver of Tarsian garments. As rental the lessees are to weave a quantity of cloth each month for the lessor. The contract begins in objective form but changes at line 9 to a subjective form from the viewpoint of the lessees, but then within this subjective form it fluctuates seemingly haphazardly between expected plural (*ἐκτίσομεν*, 13; *ἐπερωτηθέντες ὁμολογήσαμεν*, 15) and the singular (*παραδώσω*, 11; *παρείληφα*, 12; *παρα[δῶ]*, 12-13). This may be less irrational than it seems: the choice of plural verbs might suggest that Dioscorammon, *ταρσικάριος*, was providing the technical skill while Flavius Ision, *στρατιώτης*, provided the finance for their enterprise.

The lessor's subscription appears at the foot; this was presumably a copy made for the lessees.

Written along the fibres; the surface of the back is in poor condition, but there may have been a docket along the fibres, i.e. at 90° to the front.

A few sales of looms have been published, e.g. II **264**, XIV **1705** and P. Oxy. Hels. 34, but this is the first papyrus to record the lease of a loom, unless this is the case in P. Dubl. 31, originally published by B. C. McGing, *ZPE* 82 (1990) 115-21 (Panopolis, AD 355). This is a lease of an *ἐργαστήριον λινουφικὸν ἐν πύγμασι δυὶ καὶ ἐξαρτίαις αὐτῶν*; McGing assumes, no doubt rightly, that *πύγμασι* = *πήγμασι* (a similar spelling is found in Stud. Pal. XX 211.12), and suspects that here the word means simply 'looms'. J. Kramer has surveyed the meanings of *πήγματα* in the papyri, *Archiv* 43 (1997) 74-7, but does not refer to P. Dubl. 31. McGing cites bibliography on linen-weaving on p. 117. On the weaving trade in general see E. Wipszycka, *L'industrie textile dans l'Égypte romaine* (1965). For *ταρσικάριοι* and the *ἱστὸς ταρσικοῦφικός* see the notes below to lines 6, 8.

ὑπατεί[ας Ἰουλίου Κωνσταντίου]υ πατρικίου ἀδελφοῦ τοῦ δεσπότη  
ἡμῶ[ν Κωνσταντίνου Αὐγού]του καὶ Ῥουφίου Ἀλβίνου τῶν

λαμ(προτάτων).

ἐμ[ίσθωσεν Αὐρήλιος Γο]ῦνθος Εὐτυχίου ἀπὸ τῆς λαμ(πρᾶς)  
καὶ λα[μ(προτάτης) Ὁξυρυγχιτῶν πόλεω]ς Φλαουίῳ Ἰζίωνι στρα-



- 5      τιώ [τη . .] ρ[ 3-4] . [c. 3] . ρς καὶ Διοσκοράμμων<ος>  
          ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτ[ῆς] πόλεως ταρσικαρίου ἐφ' ἐνιαυτὸ(ν)  
       ἕνα ἀπὸ τοῦ ὄντος [μηνὸς] Φαῶφι τοῦ ἐνεστῶτος λς κς ιβ''  
       γ'' εἰςτὸν ἕνα ταρ[ς]ι[κοῦ]φικὸν τέλειον ἐξηρτισμένῳ  
       πάσῃ ἐξαρτίῳ ἐπὶ τῷ ἀντὶ ἐνοικίῳ ἐξυφᾶνέ κυ ἀμιστὶ  
 10     κατὰ μῆνα ἕκαστον λίνου Μενδησίῳ λίτρας δύο σοῦ  
       τοῦ Γούνθου παρέχοντος τὰ λίνα. καὶ μετὰ τὸν χρόν<ον> παραδώσω  
       τὸν ἱστὸν ὑγιῇ ὡς καὶ παρείληφα ἢ οὐ εἰ μὴ παρα—  
       [δῶ] ἐκτίσωμεν τὴν ἀξίαν τιμὴν γινομένης <ς>οι  
       [τῆς] πράξεως ὡς καθήκει. κυρία ἢ μίσθωσις {ι}  
 15     καὶ ἐπερωτηθέντες ὡμολογήσαμεν.  
       ὑπατείας τῆς προκ(ειμένης),      Φαῶφι €".  
 (m. 2)    Αὐρήλιος Γούνθος μεμίσθωκα  
           τὸν εἰςτὸν ὡς πρόκειται.

2 λαμ'      3 λαμ''      4 ἱσιωνι      6 1. ἐπ'; ἐνιαυτῷ      8 1. ἱστὸν, τέλειον Final ω of  
 ἐξηρτισμένῳ rewritten; 1. ἐξηρτισμένῳ      9 1. ἐξαρτία, ἐνοικίου ἐξυφᾶναί σοι ἀμιστὶ      12 ἱστονῦγιη  
 13 1. ἐκτίσωμεν      14 1. καθήκει      16 προ<sup>κ</sup>      18 1. ἱστὸν, πρόκειται

'In the consulship of Julius Constantius, patrician, brother of our master Constantinus Augustus, and Rufius Albinus, *virī clarissimi*.

'Aurelius Gunthus son of Euty chius, from the illustrious and most illustrious city of the Oxyrhynchites, has leased to Flavius Ision, soldier ... Dioscorammon from the same city, weaver of Tarsian garments, for one year from the present month Phaophi of the current 30th/20th/12th/3rd (year), one loom for weaving Tarsian garments, complete, fitted with all equipment, on condition that instead of rent I am to weave for you without payment each month two pounds of Mendesian flax, you Gunthus providing the flax. At the end of the period I will return the loom in good condition, as I received it, or we shall pay the proper value of whatever I do not return, the right of execution remaining with you as is proper. The lease is binding, and in answer to the formal question we gave our agreement.

'In the aforesaid consulship, Phaophi 5.'

(2nd hand) 'I, Aurelius Gunthus, have leased out the loom as aforesaid.'

3 This Aurelius Gunthus has not been recorded in *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri* before, nor has the soldier Flavius Ision (4), nor the weaver Dioscorammon (5) although that name has been attested once from Oxyrhynchus, in LVIII 3927 45 from the third century. For personal names in -ammon see F. Dunand, *Chr. d'Ég.* 38 (1963) 134-46.

5 Restoration here is difficult. Seemingly we need \*ετρα-<sup>5</sup>τιώ [τη δι' Αὐ]ρ[ηλίου] (possibly abbreviated) name ] ρς <τοῦ> καὶ Διοσκοράμμων<ος>. This is a long way from the spaces and traces assured by the papyrus. Διοσκοράμμων<ος>, at least, is reasonably justified by genitive ταρσικαρίου in 6. He ought to have the status designation Aurelius, and a patronymic—possibly the initial space in 6 was intended for this.



Alternatively, should we see this as a late example of the  $\delta\epsilon\kappa\alpha\iota$  formula?

6 For *ταρσικάριοι* see LI 3626 4 n.; T. Kruse, *ZPE* 88 (1991) 138.

8 For a *ἱστὸς ταρσικοῦφικός* cf. XIV 1705 6 (sale of the same, dated 298). This was a substantial piece of equipment, measuring 10 cubits by 6, which would not have been easily moved. For looms and their components see McGing, *ZPE* 82 (1990) 120–1 with references, and P. Oxy. Hels. 34.

9–10 The same use of the word *ἐνοίκιον* with reference to the lease of weaving equipment is found in P. Dubl. 31, and it is paid off in the same way by the lessee's provision of weaving services. See McGing, *ZPE* 82 (1990) 120, 11 n. for the equation of *ἐνοίκιον* and *φόρος* at this period.

10 'Mendesian flax' appears to be unrecorded elsewhere as a variety.

16 The placing of *Φαῶφι €*", while it is in the main hand, suggests that the text may have been drawn up in advance with only *ὑπατείας τῆς προκ(ειμένης)* written in this line (the final stroke of *κ* of *προκ* is greatly extended); then month and day were added at the appropriate moment. Cf. 4528.

U. SCHLAG  
R. A. COLES

### 4535. ACKNOWLEDGEMENT OF A DEBT

3 1B 91/A(1)a

12 × 34 cm

14 January (?) 600

The papyrus contains an acknowledgement by an *ἐναπόγραφος γεωργός* to his landlord of a debt of 6 solidi less 24 carats which he has incurred and which he undertakes to pay back whenever his landlord chooses. The papyrus is complete at top, bottom and both sides, but has suffered considerable damage in the middle where a large part of lines 22–26 has been lost.

For the most part the formulas used are those which were standard at this period in the Oxyrhynchite nome and which are well attested in several documents from the Apion estates. It is noteworthy that the landlord in 4535, Flavius Apollos, is a *comes sacri consistorii*. He is also *διοικητής* of Strategius, on whom see the note to lines 12–13.

†ἐν ὀνόματι τοῦ κυρίου καὶ δεσπ(ότου)

Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ σωτήρος

ἡμῶν. βασιλείας τοῦ θειοτάτου καὶ

εὐσεβ(εστάτου) ἡμῶν δεσπ(ότου) μεγίστου ἐνεργέτ[ο]υ

5 Φλαουίου Μαυρικί[ου] Νέου Τιβερίου τοῦ

αἰωνίου Αὐγούστου καὶ Αὐτοκρά(τορος) ἔτους

ἡ ὑπατίας τοῦ αὐτ[ο]ῦ εὐσεβ(εστάτου) ἡμῶν

δεσπ(ότου) ἔτους ιζ' Τ[ύβ]ι ἡ ἰνδ(ικτίονος)

τρίτης.

10 Φλαουίῳ Ἀπολλῶ τῷ περιβλέ(πτω)

κόμετι τοῦ θείου κονσιτωρίου

καὶ διοικ(ητῆ) τοῦ πανευφήμου

στρατηγίου ὑπάτου νύῳ τοῦ τῆς

λαμπρᾶς μηνῆς Φοιβάμμωνος

- 15 γεουχοῦντι ἐνταῦθα τῇ λαμπρᾷ  
 Ὀξυρυγχ(ιτών) πόλει. Αὐρήλιος Ἡλίας  
 υἱὸς ἅπα Νακίου μητρὸς Ἴσιδος  
 ὁρμώμενος ἀ[πὸ ἐπο]ικίου Cικεῶνος  
 B . . καρ . . . τοῦ Ὀξ[υρυ]γχ(ίτου) νομοῦ  
 20 ἐναπόγραφος γε[ωργ]ὸς τῆς ὑμετέρας  
 λαμπρό(τητος) ὁμ[ο]λογ[ῶ ὁφ]είλειν αὐτῇ  
 καὶ χρε[ω]ς[τεῖν κα]θαρῶς καὶ  
 ἀπο[κρότως ὑπὲρ δ]ημοσίων  
 χρ[υσικῶν(?) c. 5 ] . . τε  
 25 . . . [ c. 10 ]ης καὶ πρώτης  
 προ[παρε]λθουσῶν ἐπινεμέ(σεων)  
 χρυσοῦ νομισμ[ά]τια ἕξ παρὰ  
 κεράτια εἴ[κ]οσι τ[έ]σσαρα  
 ἰδιωτικῶ ζυγῶ γί(νεται) χρ(υσοῦ) νο(μισμάτια) 5 π(αρά) κερ(άτια) κδ  
 30 ἰδ(ιωτικῶ) ζυγ(ῶ) καὶ ταῦτ[α δ]μολογῶ παρασχεῖν  
 τῇ ὑμετέρᾳ λα[μπρ]ό(τητι) ὁπότεν βουληθ(εῖη)  
 ἀνυπερθέτ[ως] κινδ<ύν>ω τῶν ἐμοῖ  
 ὑπαρχόντων[ν ὑ]ποκειμένων  
 εἰς τοῦτο. κύρ(ιον) τὸ γραμμ(άτιον) ἀπλ(οὺν) γραφ(έν) καὶ  
 35 ἐπερωτηθ(εῖς) ὠμολ(όγησα). (m. 2) Αὐρ(ήλιος) Ἡλίας υἱὸς  
 ἅπα Νακίου [δ] προγεγραμμένος  
 πεποίημαι τοῦτο τὸ γραμμ(άτιον) τῶν  
 ἕξ νομισμ(ατίων) παρὰ κερ(άτια) εἴκοσι τέσσαρα  
 καθ[ὼ]ς πρόκ(εῖται). Παπνούθιος ἔγρ(αψα)  
 40 ὑ(πέρ) αὐτοῦ ἀγρ(αμμάτου) ὄντος.  
 ✠ di em[u Pa]phuti`u' . . .

Back

- (m. 1?) † γρ(αμμάτιον) Ἡλία υἱοῦ [ἅπα Νακί]ο[ν ἀπὸ ἐποικίου] Cικεῶνος B . . καρ( )  
 χρ(υσοῦ) νο(μισμάτια) 5 π(αρά) κ[ερ](άτια) [κδ] ἰ[δ(ιωτικῶ) ζ(υγῶ)].

1 κυριῶ, δεσπς	2 χριστῶ, θεῶ	4 ευσεβς, δεσπς, ευεργετ[ῶ]	5 φλαουιῶ	6 αιωνιδανγουστῶ,
αυτοκρ./ <sup>α</sup>	7 ευσεβς	8 δεσπς, ινδ,,	10 φλαουίω, περιβλ, <sup>ε</sup>	11 θειῶ
13 ὑπατουσιῶ	16 οξυρυγχς	17 νακιῶ, ἰσιδος	18 ]ικιῶ	19 τῶξ[υρυ]γχς
26 ἐπινεμς <sup>ε</sup> , 1. ἐπινεμη-	29 γι/χρ/ῶ, #κερ/	30 ιδ,ζυγς	31 λα[μπρ/] <sup>ο</sup> , βουληθς	
34 κυρ/τογραμμςαπλ/γραφ/	35 ἐπερωτηθς ὠμολ/αυρς, υἱος	37 γραμμς	38 νομισμς, κερ/	
39 προκςπαπνούθιοςεγρ/	40 υ', αγρς	42 γρ/, β. . καρ/χρ/ῶ, #κ[ερ]/		

'In the name of the Lord and Master Jesus Christ our God and Saviour. 18th year of the reign of our most divine and pious master and greatest benefactor Flavius Mauricius the New Tiberius the eternal Augustus and Imperator, in the year of the 17th consulship of our said most pious master, Tybi (?) 18, in the third indiction.

'To Flavius Apollos, *spectabilis comes sacri consistorii* and administrator of the all-honoured consul Strategius, son of Phoebammon of illustrious memory, a landholder here in the illustrious city of the Oxyrhynchites.

'I, Aurelius Elias son of Apa Nacius, whose mother is Isis, native of the hamlet of Siceon B... in the Oxyrhynchite nome, *colonus adscripticius* of your magnificence, acknowledge that I am in debt and owe to your magnificence clearly and without fail, in respect of (?) my gold taxes (?) due for the fifteenth(?) and for the first past indictions, six gold solidi less twenty-four carats on the private standard = 6 gold solidi less 24 carats on the private standard, and this I agree to produce to your magnificence when your magnificence chooses without delay, at the risk of my property which is mortgaged to this end. The contract written in a single copy is binding and in answer to the formal question I gave my assent.'

(2nd hand) 'I, Aurelius Elias son of Apa Nacius the aforesaid, have made this contract in respect of the six solidi less twenty-four carats as aforesaid. I, Papnuthius, wrote on his behalf as he is illiterate.

'Through me, Papnutius(?), it has been registered.'

Back. (1st hand?) 'Contract of Elias son of Apa Nacius of the hamlet of Siceon B... for 6 gold solidi less 24 carats on the private standard.'

1-9 On the *invocatio* formulas see R. S. Bagnall and K. A. Worp, *Chr. d'Ég.* 56 (1981) 112-33, esp. 112-18. For the reckoning of dates at this period, see Bagnall and Worp, *Regnal Formulas*, 589, and *BASP* 18 (1981) 33-8 = *CNBD* 85. Our text shows no divergences from the expected pattern.

8 Τ[ὐβ]ι ιη: Π[αὺν]ι ιη (12 June 600) is not impossible but is less probable; Π[αὺ]νι η can be ruled out.

10 Φλαουίω Ἀπολλῶ: also attested in LVIII 3936 and P. Berol. inv. 10526, edited by G. Poethke in *JJP* 23 (1993) 133-7 (both 598), documents addressed to Strategius through Apollos τοῦ μεγαλοπρεπεστάτου κόμετος καὶ διοικητοῦ αὐτοῦ, with no mention of the *sacrum consistorium*. In XVI 1991, to be dated 601 (see BL VIII), an acknowledgement to Strategius is sent through Flavius Dorotheus τ[οῦ] π[ερὶ]βλέπτου κόμ(ε)τος καὶ διοικητ[οῦ] αὐτοῦ.

11 κόμετι τοῦ θείου κονκιστωρίου: on the consistory see the references given in CPR V 14.3-5 n., L 3585 2 n., and P. Heid. IV 331.3-4 n.

12-13 τοῦ πανευφήμου Στρατηγίου ὑπάτου: on this Strategius see B. Palme, *Chiron* 27 (1997) 95-125, with a comprehensive listing of all papyri which relate to him. There is no other Oxyrhynchite document in which he is described in exactly this form, without the epithet ὑπερφνέστατος. On his first certain appearance in 591 (LVIII 3935) he is described only as ὑπερφνέστατος (cf. also XVI 1829, with Palme, *ZRG* 115 (1998) 281-322, esp. 308 ff). By 598 he is ὑπάτος as well as πανευφήμος καὶ ὑπερφνέστατος (LVIII 3936; P. Berol. inv. 10526), and the same titles appear in XVI 1991 of 601, the only other Oxyrhynchite document to mention him. He does appear in a few Arsinoite documents as πανευφήμος and ὑπάτος, without ὑπερφνέστατος, for which see Palme, *Chiron* 27, 120-1.

15 γεουχοῦντι: in 1991, 3936 and P. Berol. inv. 10526 Strategius is described as a landholder in the Oxyrhynchite, which might suggest that we should correct here to γεουχοῦντος. This is unnecessary. Cf. I 140 4-5, where a contract is made with a *comes sacri consistorii* γεουχοῦντι ἐ[ν] ταῦθα τῇ λαμπρῇ Ὁξυρυγχιτῶν πόλει.

18-19 ἀ[πὸ] ἐπο[ικίου] Cικεῶνος Β. . . καρ . . . : no such ἐποίκιον is attested and the second word is particularly difficult. Here initial beta is plain, but is very hard to read in line 42; there the word clearly ends with αρ and an abbreviation mark, but it is difficult to read rho after κα in 19. The combination of the two readings, if they are correct, suggests the word may come from *bracarius*, and βλακαρ- [*sic*] may be just possible



in 19. This could be understood as Elias' trade, but it would then be out of place between the reference to his ἐποίκιον and τοῦ Ὁξυρρυχίτου νομοῦ. In X **1341** Βρακαρίων occurs, and is perhaps to be understood as a place-name. The first word may be an alternative spelling for Κυκεῶνος ('a fig grove'), or for Κυκῶνος. For the occurrence of place-names ending in -(ε)ών in post-classical Greek cf. L.R. Palmer, *A Grammar of the post-Ptolemaic Papyri*, 120-1, who includes in his list κυκῶν = -εων.

20 ἐναπόγραφος γε[ωργ]ός: see I. F. Fikhman, *AnaPap* 3 (1991) 7-17, with a full citation of earlier bibliography.

21-6 There are no exact parallels for this badly damaged section of the papyrus. The general sense must surely be that the debt is owed for payments due for two (or more?) preceding indictions. As one of these is the first and it seems impossible to fit in δευτέρα, the obvious solution is to supply a reference to the fifteenth. At the end of line 24 the traces are not really consistent with π]εντε, and we cannot read καιδεκάτης in the next line: the traces at the start, although meagre, do not allow και and the restoration [δεκάτ]ης is much too short for the lacuna. Slightly more promising is τε |πεν[τεκαιδεκάτ]ης. But we should then expect τῶν or τῆς before τε, neither of which seems possible.

22-3 κα]θαρώς καὶ ἀπο[κρότως: the expression does not seem to have occurred previously in papyri from the Oxyrhynchite nome, but there are several attestations of it in papyri from other nomes at this period: see P. Dubl. 25.4 n.

23-4 ὑπὲρ δ]ημοσίων χρ[υσιῶν(?): the expression ὑπὲρ χρυσιῶν δημοσίων is common, e.g. XVI **1907** 7, **1909** 6-7, but I know of no example with the words in this order. For reference to a specific indiction one may compare LV **3797** 3-4, ὑ(πὲρ) μέρου(ς) χρυσι(ῶν) δημο(σίων) Ὁξυρύγγω(ν) (καὶ) Κυνῶν[ ] τρίτης καταβολῆ(ς) δωδεκά(της) ἰνδ(ικτίονος), and XLI **2995**, τὸν [sic] ὀφειλόμενον ἐξ ἔθους ... χρυσικὸν δημόσιον τῇ Κιρκᾷ ὑ(πὲρ) δημοσίων δεκάτης ἰνδ(ικτίονος). Other possible supplements might be δ]ημοσίων χρ[εῶν or δ]ημοσίων χρ[εῖων. For χρ[εῖων cf. P. Warren 10.11-12 (591/2), also from the Oxyrhynchite, where a loan is acknowledged which has been advanced εἰς ἰδίας ἡμῶν καὶ ἀναγκαίας καὶ δημοσίας χρ[εῖας. However, Hunt comments that δημοσίας is 'an unusual addition', and the expression δημόσιαι χρεῖαι in the papyri usually refers to liturgical obligations.

26 προ[παρε]λθουσῶν: the rubbed traces at the start of the line are not at all clear. We can rule out ἀρτι or ἀρτίως before [παρε]λθουσῶν, but προ is far from certain.

27-9 For a recent discussion of solidi less so many carats see Klaus Maresch, *Nomisma und Nomismata* (Pap. Colon. xxi, 1994), 8-13; all known examples of the expression from the period 542-619 are listed by him on pp. 163-71. He also discusses on pp. 32-34 the different standards which were in use in the Oxyrhynchite in the second half of the sixth century.

29 κδ: the second figure is strangely made, rather like a modern Q. Although the reading τέσσαρα is not entirely certain in either lines 28 or 38, none of the alternatives (23, 27, 29) is at all likely. In any case 24 is the figure we should expect for 6 solidi on the so-called private standard in the Oxyrhynchite nome at this date; see Maresch, op. cit. 10.

31 δπόταν βουληθ(εῖν): on loans in the Byzantine period for limited and unlimited periods see CPR VII, pp. 161-2.

39 καθ[ω]ς πρό(ε)ιται: ὡς πρόκειται would be more usual, but this does not account for all the ink or the spacing.

A man named Papnuthius writes for illiterates in a number of Oxyrhynchite texts of this period: P. Flor. I 65 (570/1?), PSI VII 786 (581? see *BASP* 18 [1981] 34), XVI **1976** (582), I **137** (584), XVI **1988** (587), SB VI 9561 (590), LVIII **3942** (606), PSI I 61 (609) and P. Lond. V 1764 (13th indiction, therefore 579/80, 594/5 or 609/10?); P. L. Bat. XIII 20 (592?) is much less certain. Photographs of all the P. Oxy. texts are in the Ashmolean Library, PSI 786 is reproduced as Plate LII in *Papiri greci e latini a Firenze* (= Pap. Flor. XII, Suppl.; 1983) and P. L. Bat. XIII 20 was accompanied by a plate in the edition. In all cases which can be checked, apart from P. L. Bat. XIII 20, it is probable that the illiteracy statement is in the same hand as in our text.

41 Johannes M. Diethart and Klaas A. Worp, *Notarsunterschriften im byzantinischen Ägypten*, pp. 83-4, no. 16.2, quote 13 examples of subscriptions from Oxyrhynchus written by a Papnuthius; they include all the texts quoted in the previous note except **3942** (where the *di' emu* clause was not written by Papnuthius; see the note to line 36), and add I **136** (583), **138** (610/11), XVI **1898** (587), which do not have illiteracy statements by Papnuthius, and XVI **1993** (587), which is only published in part. The writer of most of these is probably the same as the man in our text (although this is far from clear in some cases, especially **136**, **138** and P. L. Bat. XIII 20). The closest parallel for the way *di' emu Papnuthiu* is written in **4535** is 16.2.5 = I **137** 27. In **137**



Diethart and Worp agree with Grenfell and Hunt in reading *sun(bolaeografu)* after this. In our text, however, the reading seems to be much more like an abbreviated form of *eteliōth*, possibly *e(telio)th*, for which cf. 16.2.13 = P. Lond. 1764.12. On the (intentional?) near illegibility of these notarial statements see J. G. Keenan, *ZPE* 34 (1979) 137, note to line 30.

42 ἀπὸ ἐποικίου may well have been abbreviated.

J. DAVID THOMAS

### 4536. PROMISE OF GOOD BEHAVIOUR

α/3 A

12 × 35 cm

27 October 612 (?)

The papyrus is complete but much rubbed in places with some loss of ink. This does not seriously affect the reading, especially as the text is an almost exact parallel of I **139** and XVI **1981**. All three papyri are undertakings sent to Flavius Apion III, by inhabitants of villages under his control, to be of good behaviour. **1981** was written on Phaophi 28, **139** on Phaophi 29, and **4536** on Phaophi 30, all in the 1st indiction; on the Julian date see the note to lines 1–6. In **139** the undertaking comes from a *πρωτοφύλαξ* and in the present text from two *πρωτοφύλακες*. The two senders of **1981** do not indicate an official position, but the *subscriptio* is made by τὸ κοινὸν τῶν ὀνομάτων as in **4536**.

Minor differences between the present text and **139** and/or **1981** are indicated in the notes. In all three texts the persons giving the undertaking are illiterate and a man named John writes for them. Similarly in all three texts the notary who wrote the statement in ‘Latin’ at the foot is called John. The natural assumption is to suppose that this is the same person, but it is very hard to accept that the man who wrote the illiteracy sentence, in a rounded Greek script, can have also written the neat, right-sloping notarial statement; see further the notes ad locc.

- †ἐν ὀνόματι τοῦ κυρίου καὶ δεσπ(ότου) Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ  
τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν. βασιλείας τοῦ  
θειοτάτου καὶ εὐσεβ(εστάτου) ἡμῶν δεσπ(ότου) μεγίστου  
εὐεργ(έτου) Φλ(αουίου) Ἡρακλείου τοῦ αἰωνίου Αὐγούστου  
5 καὶ Αὐτοκρ(άτορος) ἔτους δευτέρου Φαῶφι λ  
ἰνδ(ικτίονος) α.
- Φλ(αουίω) Ἀπίωνι τῷ πανευφ(ήμω) καὶ ὑπερφ(εστάτῳ)  
ἀπὸ ὑπάτων καὶ πατρικ(ίω) γεουχοῦντι  
καὶ ἐνταῦθα τῇ λαμπρ(ᾷ) Ὁξυρυγχ(ιτών) πόλει  
10 διὰ Μηνᾶ οἰκέτου τοῦ ἐπερωτῶντος  
καὶ προσπορίζοντος τῷ ἰδίῳ δεσπ(ότῃ)  
τῷ αὐτῷ πανευφ(ήμω) ἀνδρὶ τὴν ἀγωγὴν  
καὶ ἐνοχὴν Αὐρήλιοι Ἀπολ[λ]ῶς  
υἱὸς Ἀνοῦπ καὶ Ἐρκῶτ υἱὸς Ἀπολλῶ

- 15 ἀπὸ κώμης Πλεεῖν τοῦ Ὁξυρυγχ(ίτου)  
 νομοῦ παγαρχουμένης παρὰ τῆς  
 ὑμετέρας ὑπερφ(υείας). ὁμολογοῦμεν  
 τῇ ὑμετέρα ὑπερφ(υεία) ὥς ἐ[ῖ] ποτε  
 καιρῷ ἢ χρόνῳ φανῶμεν  
 20 κλέψαντες μηχαν[ι]κὰ  
 σκεύη ἢ βοῖδια ἢ ο[ῖ]α[νδ]ήποτε  
 κλοπὴν ποιήσα . . . [ῆ] ὑπ[ο]δέξασθαι  
 λιστὰς ἐπὶ τῷ ἡμ[ᾶ]ς π[α]ρ[α]σχεῖν  
 τῇ ὑμετέρα ὑπερφ(υεία) διὰ τῶν αὐτῇ  
 25 προσηκόντων ὑπὲρ ἑκάστου  
 ἐγχειρήματος χρυσοῦ νομισμ(άτια)  
 εἴκοσι τέσσερα ἔργῳ καὶ δυνάμει  
 ἀπαιτούμενα κινδύνῳ  
 ἡμῶν καὶ τῆς ἡμῶν ὑποστάσεως.  
 30 κυρία ἡ ὁμολογί[α] ἀπλ(ῆ)  
 γραφ(εῖσα) καὶ ἐπερωτηθέντες ὡμ[ο]λογήσα<μεν>.  
 (m. 2) †τὸ κοινὸν τῶν ὀνομάτων(ων)  
 στοιχεῖ ἡμῖν αὕτη ἡ ὁμολ(ογία)  
 ὡς πρόκειται. Ἰωάννης  
 35 ἔγραψα (ὑπὲρ) αὐτῶν ἀγγραμμ(άτων)  
 ὄντων.†  
 (m. 3?) ✠ di em(u) Ioannu et eliothh̄s.

Back (m. 1)

†ὁμολογία Ἀπολλῶ{ς} υἱοῦ Ἀνοῦπ καὶ Ἐρκῶτ υἱοῦ Ἀπολλῶ πρωτοφυλάκ(ων)  
 ὁρμωμ(ένων) ἀπὸ κώμ(ης) Πλεεῖν τοῦ Ὁξυρυγχ(ίτου) νομ(οῦ).†

1 δεσπ[ι]ς ἰησουχριστῶ 2 τῷ 3 ευσεβ[ι]ς, δεσπ[ι]ςμεγιστῶ 4 ευεργ[ο]φ[ι]ς, αυγουστῶ 5 αυτοκρ[ατο]ρ  
 6 ἰνδ[ου] 7 φλ[ω]γ, υπερφ[ω] 8 ἀπο, πατρικ[η] 9 λαμπρ[ος]οξυρυγχ[ος] 10 οικετῶ 11 ἰδιωδεσπ[ο]ς  
 12 τῶαυτωπανευφ[ω] 14 υἱος, bis 15 οξυρυγχ[ος] 16 παγαρχουμένης, η corrected 17 ὑπερφ[ω]  
 18 υπερφ[ω] 21 βοῖδια 23 l. ληστὰς 24 ὑμετεραῦπερφ[ω] 25 εκαστῶ 26 εγχειρηματος,  
 γ corrected from ν or vice versa; νομισμ[ος] 27 l. τέσσαρα 29 1st ἡμῶν, ν corrected; υποστασεῶ  
 30 απλ[η] 31 γραφ[η], επερ[ω] 32 ονοματ[ος] 33 αὐτη, α corrected; ομολ[ογία] 34 ἰωαννης  
 35 ῥ; αγραμμ[ος] 38 υἱου, bis; πρωτοφυλακ[ος] 39 ορμωμ[ος], κωμ[ος], τῶοξυρυγχ[ος]νομ[ος]

‘In the name of the Lord and Master Jesus Christ our God and Saviour. In the second year of the reign of our most godly and pious master the greatest benefactor

Flavius Heraclius the eternal Augustus and Imperator, Phaophi 30, of the 1st indiction.

‘To Flavius Apion the renowned and most extraordinary, of consular rank and patrician, landowner here also in the glorious city of the Oxyrhynchites, through Menas, slave, putting the formal question and supplying for his own master, the same renowned man, the conduct of and responsibility for (the transaction), Aurelii Apollos son of Anoup and Erkot son of Apollos of the village of Pleein in the Oxyrhynchite nome, which village belongs to your excellency’s pagarchy. We acknowledge to your excellency that if ever at any season or time we are found to have stolen the water-wheel implements or cattle or to have committed any theft whatsoever or to have harboured robbers, we are to deliver to your excellency through your excellency’s representatives for each infraction twenty-four gold solidi, actual payment of which is to be demanded, at our own risk and that of our property. The acknowledgement written in a single copy is enforceable and in answer to the formal question we gave our assent.’

(2nd Hand) ‘We, the collective body of names, are satisfied with this acknowledgement as aforesaid. I, John, have written on their behalf as they are illiterate.’

(3rd Hand?) ‘Executed through me, John.’

(Back; 1st Hand) ‘Acknowledgement of Apollos son of Anoup and of Erkot son of Apollos, head-watchmen, originating from the village of Pleein in the Oxyrhynchite nome.’

1–6 The *invocatio* and the regnal formula are of the pattern normal in the Oxyrhynchite nome at this date. For the *invocatio* see R. S. Bagnall and K. A. Worp, *Chr. d’Ég.* 56 (1981) 112–33, esp. 121, and for the regnal formula Bagnall and Worp, *Regnal Formulas in Byzantine Egypt*, 68–73, esp. 68–9, updated by Worp in *JJP* 23 (1993) 217–32, esp. 218. In **139** the *invocatio* and most of the regnal formula is lost.

The regnal year-date is the equivalent of 28 October 611, whereas the indiction-date is the equivalent of 27 October 612. **1981** was read by Grenfell and Hunt as dated by regnal year 2 and indiction 1, which would make it a parallel to our text (in **139** the year-number is lost). Subsequently it was suggested that the figure for the regnal year was gamma and not beta (see LVIII, p. xvii). The photograph, however, shows no more than an upright remaining of the damaged figure, which could fit either beta or gamma. Since the present text certainly belongs to a second year, we must give the preference to beta in **1981**. In *BASP* 17 (1980) 24 (= *CNBD* 62), Bagnall and Worp discuss 4 texts of the reign of Heraclius, **1981**, BGU XII 2208–2209 and SB VI 9461, with a similar discrepancy to that in our papyrus. They argue that in each case it is the indiction-date which is right, and that the texts are ‘examples of failure to advance the regnal count’ in documents dating from near the beginning of the regnal year (Heraclius’ *dies imperii* was 5 October). The present text would appear to be another example of this and so to date from 27 October 612. See also LVIII **3957**, with Rea’s comments in the introduction.

7–9 On the Apion family see J. Gascou, *Travaux et Mémoires* 9 (1985) 61–75, and in particular for Apion III, 68–71. Subsequent bibliography is recorded in B. Palme, *Chiron* 27 (1997) 97 n. 6. Cf. **4535** 12–13 n., and for the family *stemma* see Palme, *ZRG* 115 (1998) 322.

8 The papyrus has an oblique mark like a grave accent over the pi of ἀπό, and a similar mark over the omega of τῷ in line 12 (cf. the critical notes). Presumably these are just accidents.

10 On Menas see LVIII **3935** 7 n.

13–14 The Apollos son of Anoup who gives a parallel undertaking to be of good behaviour in **1981** is from a different village.

14 Ἐρκώτ: the name is not attested elsewhere, but the reading, when taken in conjunction with line 38, is reasonably secure. Accent and breathing are arbitrary.

15 For the village Pleein see P. Pruneti, *I centri abitati*, 152; add now LV **3805** 51.

16–17 *παγαρχουμένης παρὰ τῆς ὑμετέρας ὑπερφ(υείας)*: so **139** 15–16. In **1981** 16–17 Grenfell and Hunt read *παγαρχουμένης παρὰ τοῦ . . . οὐ οἴκου*, commenting that *ὑμετέρου* could not be read; possibly the text ran *παρὰ τοῦ ὑμῶν ἐνδόξου οἴκου*, see BL VII 143, as in XXIV **2420** 13.

18 *ὥς ἐ[ῖ] ποτε*: also possible is *ὥς ῖ ποτε*.

19 *φανῶμεν*: **1981** omits the word (a scribal slip), while **139** 19 reads *φανομεν*. In **139** the editors corrected this to *φανούμεθα*, but in the republication as Sel. Pap. I 25 it is corrected to *φανῶμεν* (cf. **1981** 19). **4536** may also have read *φανομεν*. For *εἰ* with the subjunctive in late papyri see Basil G. Mandilaras, *The Verb in the Greek non-literary Papyri*, § 601.

20 **1981** 20 inserts *ἦ* before *μηχανικά*.

22 *ποισα . . . [ἦ] ὑπ[ο]δέξασθαι*: the surface of the papyrus is badly damaged at this point and the reading uncertain. In **1981** 21 *π[οι]ήσα[ν(τες)]* is restored at the end of a line (with *ἦ ὑποδέξασθαι* at the start of the next line); **139** 22 has *ποιήσαντες ἦ ὑποδέξασθαι*. It does not look possible to read *ποιήσαντες* in the present text; more probable is *ποιήσασθαι* [*ἦ*] or *ποιήσασθ[αι] ἦ*.

23 *λιτάς*: the same spelling is found in **139** 23 and **1981** 22.

*ἐπὶ τῷ ἡμ[ᾶ]ς π[αρ]αχεῖν*: similarly **139** 23. **1981** 22–3 has [*δ*] *μολογο[ῦμε(ν)] παρα[χ]εῖν*.

24–5 *διὰ τῶν αὐτῇ προσκόντων*: a regular phrase in Oxyrhynchite documents of this period, nearly always occurring immediately after the word *ὑπερφυεῖα*. Note that in **139** and **1981** it occurs before *ὥς ἐ[ῖ] ποτε* and not at this point.

26 *χρυσού*: **139** 25 reads *χρυσίου*; **1981** 25 has *χρυ[σοῦ]*.

26–7 In **139** and **1981** the penalty is also 24 solidi.

27–8 *ἐργῶ καὶ δυνάμει ἀπαιτούμενα*: so **139** 26–7, but omitted in **1981**. The only other examples of the phrase in Oxyrhynchite documents are I **135** 29 and XLIV **3204** 24. On its significance cf. P. Rain. Cent. 84.3–4 n.

31 *ὡμ[ο]λογήσα(μεν)*: there is no mark of abbreviation and it seems clear that the scribe wrote the singular in error.

32–6 **4536** brings to at least ten the number of texts from Oxyrhynchus in this period in which a man named John writes for illiterates: PSI I 77 (551), VII **1038** (568), P. Laur. III 75 (574) [for the date and provenance see *BASP* 18 (1981) 44–6], I **192** = *BASP* 31 (1994) 56–8 (599/600 or 614/15), PSI I 52 (602 or 617), I **139** (612), XVI **1981** (612), PSI I 62 (613 [see BL I]), and 72 (undated); probably also PSI VI 709 (566). In most cases it is possible to check photographs: the editions of P. Laur. 75 and I **192** are accompanied by plates, and plates of PSI 62 and 709 are included as nos. LVI and L in *Papiri greci e latini a Firenze* (=Pap. Flor. XII, Suppl.; 1983); for **139**, **1038** and **1981** I have consulted photographs in the Ashmolean. In addition to **139**, **1981** and **4536** I believe that the same John occurs in P. Laur. 75 (where the first hand is also identical with that in **4536**), **192** and perhaps PSI 62. On the hands of the notarial statements see below.

32–3 *τὸ κοινὸν τῶν ὀνομάτων(ων) στοιχεῖ ἡμῖν*: in **139** 30 the name of the man making the agreement replaces *τὸ κοινὸν τῶν ὀνομάτων*. In **1981** 28–9 which, like **4536**, is an agreement made by two named persons, the phrase *τὸ κοινὸν τῶν ὀνομάτων* is again used. It would appear that the persons named are considered to be representative of the whole community or that the community as a whole accepts liability for the agreement (cf. XVI **1979** 23, where the same phrase occurs but there is only one person giving the undertaking). It is noteworthy that in **1981** the back reads *ὁμολ(ογία) τῶν ἀπὸ κώμ(ης) Ὠφρωσ*. Apart from the texts mentioned, the phrase is also found in XVI **1896** 24, PSI I 52.34–5 (see BL VII), P. Lond. V 1764.8–9 and P. L. Bat. XIII 20.22–3 (all from the Oxyrhynchite).

33 *αὐτῇ ἢ ὁμολ(ογία)*: so **139** 31; omitted in **1981**.

34–6 The illiterate statement takes the same form in **139** 31–2 and **1981** 30–1.

37 On these notarial statements see **4535** 41 n. and the work by Diethart and Worp referred to there. My reading agrees with that of Grenfell and Hunt for **139** and **1981**. Diethart and Worp interpret the writing slightly differently. They list examples of notaries named John from the Oxyrhynchite nome on pp. 81–2. Our man is their 9.9, whom they recognise in **139** 33, **1981** 32, PSI I 52.38 and 62.27; I should be inclined to regard P. Laur. 75 also as the work of the same man (in I **192**, which is not in Diethart and Worp, the notarial statement is lost).

38 *πρωτοφυλάκ(ων)*: on the office see G. Rouillard, *L'administration civile de l'Égypte byzantine*,<sup>2</sup> 162–7. A list of occurrences is given in P. L. Bat. XXV 75, introd.



39 ὀρμωμ(ένων): the word is not used before ἀπὸ κώμης on the back of either **139** or **1981**. For the different wording on the back of **1981** see above, lines 32–3 n.

J. DAVID THOMAS

#### 4537. MEASUREMENTS OF A CISTERN

53 1B.26(F)/C(3)a

10 × 31.5 cm

Sixth/seventh century  
Plate XVIII

This complete and well preserved document gives us information about the size and shape of a λάκκος, an underground cistern used to store water for the irrigation of the fields. From the λάκκος the water was lifted up by a *sāqiā* and then distributed via channels to the fields. For the construction of cisterns see L. Ménassa and P. Laferrière, *La Sāqiā* (Cairo 1975), 1–23; LV **3804** 221 n. Further bibliography for irrigation devices is in LIV **3771** 7 n. Digging was done in the dry period and needed to be completed by June. The interiors were lined with bricks or stones; for bricks cf. XVIII **2197**, while PSI I 88 gives the cost as 1 solidus for 1600 bricks. On the Apion estate we find cisterns of more solid construction: large stones were brought for them, see I **134**, XVI **1911**; in **134** 1 solidus was paid for 200 large stones, and in **1911** 1 solidus less 5 carats for 150 stones.

In **4537**, although the first line reads μετρήσεις τοῦ ἀνωρυχθέντος νέου λάκκου, we are actually given the dimensions of two projects, different in size but similar in shape, narrow at the bottom and wider at the top, which were completed on Pachon 29 = 24 May. ἀνωρυχθέντος may indicate that the papyrus only refers to the excavation stage, cf. LV **3804** 213; contrast **4538** which must refer to built work. The first excavation's dimensions are: upper width 24 cubits, lower width 22 cubits, depth 6 cubits giving a volume of 88<sup>1</sup>/<sub>6</sub> naubia. The μῆκος (cf. 12) was omitted here but can be calculated as 17<sup>1</sup>/<sub>4</sub> cubits. The size, more than three times that of the second excavation, allows us to conclude that this was the main underground reservoir. The second excavation, called ἀναβατηρία in 11, was 3 cubits in depth, half that of the first, somewhat longer at 27 cubits, and with strongly sloping walls (upper width 10 cubits, lower 6 cubits).

The meaning of ἀναβατηρία is uncertain. Here, obviously, it describes a comparatively (in comparison with the first excavation) shallow and narrow trough, but the precise function of this trough remains unclear. It is not certain that it would have been vaulted over when finished, as would the main reservoir, cf. **4538**. See 11 n.

The back is blank.

† μετρή(εις) τοῦ ἀνωρυχθέντος νέου λάκκου  
ἐν τῇ μῆχ(ανῇ) καλουμένῃ τοῦ Λάκκου  
ὑπὸ Παῦλον πρε(σβύτερον) (καὶ) Ἡράκλειον  
γεωρ(γούς) τοῦ κτήμ(ατος) Λέοντος

5 ἐπὶ μη(νός) Παχῶν καθ' ἰνδ(ικτίονος) γ  
ὑδροπαροχ(ία) δ' ἰνδ(ικτίονος) οὕ(τως).

ἄνω πλάτος πῆχ(εις) κδ

κάτω πλάτος πῆχ(εις) κβ

βάθος πῆχ(εις) ς

10 εἰς ναύει(α) πηρς'

(καὶ) τῆς ἀναβατηρ(ίας) οὕ(τως).

μῆκ(ος) πῆχ(εις) κζ

ἄνω πλάτος πῆχ(εις) ἰ

κάτω πλάτος πῆχ(εις) ς

15 βάθος πῆχ(εις) γ

εἰς ναύει(α) κδ

γί(νεται) ὁ(μοῦ) ναύει(α) ρίβς' εἰς

νο(μισμάτια) γγ'.

1 μετρῆς τ' ἄνωρυχ<sup>θς</sup>; 1. ἀνορυχθ(έντος); λακκ' 2 μηχ<sup>ς</sup> καλουμ<sup>ς</sup> τ' ἄνωρυχ<sup>ς</sup> 3 πρ<sup>ς</sup> / ς  
4 γεωργ<sup>ς</sup>, κτημ<sup>ς</sup> 5 μ<sup>ς</sup> ἰνδ / 6 ὑδροπαροχ<sup>ς</sup>, ἰνδ / ου<sup>-</sup> 7 πηχ<sup>ς</sup> So in 8, 9, 13, 15  
10 ναυει / So in 16, 17 1. ναύβια 11 ς, ἀναβατηρ / ουτ<sup>-</sup> 12 μηκ', πηχ<sup>ς</sup> 14 πηχ<sup>ς</sup>  
17 γι / ο (but omicron crossed by two diagonals) 18 ν

'Measurements of the new cistern excavated in the irrigated area called 'of the Cistern' in the charge of Paul, priest, and Heraclius, farmers of the holding of Leon, on the 29th of the month of Pachon of the 3rd indiction for the water supply of the 4th indiction, as follows:

'Upper width 24 cubits

'Lower width 22 cubits

'Depth 6 cubits

'(Which converts) to naubia 88<sup>1</sup><sub>6</sub>

'And of the *anabateria*, as follows:

'Length 27 cubits

'Upper width 10 cubits

'Lower width 6 cubits

'Depth 3 cubits

'(Which converts) to naubia 24

'Total altogether, naubia 112<sup>1</sup><sub>6</sub>

'(Which converts) to solidi 3<sup>1</sup><sub>3</sub>.'

1-2 The λάκκος is called 'new' because the irrigation setup here already contained one, after which it was named. For named μηχαναί cf. e.g. I 137, XIX 2244 and PSI I 60.

3 A Παῦλος πρεσβύτερος occurs in XVI 1912 35, an estate account, but there is nothing to suggest that this is the same person. For ὑπό in this context cf. e.g. LV 3804 213.

4 The holding of Leon is well known, see P. Pruneti, *I centri abitati dell' Ossirinchi* 94; add LV 3805 43. It is described as an ἐποίκιον as well as a κτήμα. A new λάκκος is associated with it also in XIX 2244 34. P. IFAO II 12 attests another λάκκος in the same locality, including its vault somewhat larger at 113 naubia.

10 ναύει(α). For the spelling see Gignac, *Grammar* I 70. The naubion is a cubic measure containing 27 cubic cubits, see H. C. Youtie, *Scriptiunculae* I 109.

The omission of the length here necessitates a roundabout calculation.  $88\frac{1}{6}$  naubia imply  $2380\frac{1}{2}$  cubic cubits ( $88\frac{1}{6} \times 27$ ). The width at 23 cubits (average of the upper and lower widths)  $\times$  the depth 6 cubits = 138 square cubits. Dividing this into the implied  $2380\frac{1}{2}$  cubic cubits supplies the missing length,  $17\frac{1}{4}$  cubits. Obviously this could be expressed more rapidly by an algebraic equation.

The depth in 9, 6 cubits, is the same as that for the λάκκος in 4538. It seems odd to us that the length is less than the width. It must have seemed appropriate to apply πλάτος to the sloping sides, even when that dimension was the greater of the two.

11 ἀναβατηρία. Attested elsewhere only in P. Oslo III 111.127, 129 with the note on p. 153. P. Flor. I 50 mentions an ἀναβατικὸν ὕδρευμα, likewise P. Michael. 42 A 16-17, B 11 τῶν ὑδρευμάτων πηγαίων τε καὶ ἀναβατικῶν, translated 'water-supplies both natural and mechanical'. Ultimately, it remains unclear whether these ἀναβαίνω-derived words should be understood as active or passive in sense, and with that uncertainty the irrigation function of ἀναβατηρία remains uncertain also.

16 See 10 n. The arithmetic is correct: 27 cubits  $\times$  8 (average of the upper and lower widths)  $\times$  3 = 648 cubic cubits,  $\div 27 = 24$  naubia.

17-18 For the equation naubia: solidi cf. VII 1053 (sixth or seventh century), where a rate of 50 naubia per solidus is given, in perhaps similar circumstances, against  $33\frac{2}{3}$  here. Presumably the solidus-figure represents the excavation costs. Cf. 4538 9 n. where the rate appears to be approximately  $11\frac{1}{2}$  naubia only per solidus; that is for construction work seemingly, not just excavation work as conjectured here.

A. SYRCOU

#### 4538. MEASUREMENTS OF A CISTERN

65 6B.38/C(9-10)b

12.2  $\times$  12.4 cm

Sixth/seventh century  
Plate XIX

This document contains measurements of a λάκκος, cf. 4537. The cistern in 4538 was rectangular, its length 50 cubits, width  $14\frac{1}{2}$  cubits, depth 6 cubits and its volume just over 161 naubia. Its sides were vertical and, as is indicated by καμάρα (1), it was vaulted over.

The lower part of the text is lost. The back is blank.

† ἔμετρή(εις) τῆς καμάρας τοῦ  
λάκκ(ου) τῆς μηχα(νῆς) Νήσου  
Λαχανίας ἐπὶ μη(νὸς) Παῦνι ιζ ἰνδ(ικτίονος) ιγ  
οὕτως·

5     μῆκ(ος)                    πῆχ(εῖς)    ν  
       πλάτ(ος)                πῆχ(εῖς)    ἰδL  
       βάθ(ος)                πῆχ(εῖς)    5  
           γί(νεται) ναύει(α) ρξα θ' νδ/  
       τῶν ναυεί(ων)            ἰδ// νο(μισμάτια)

1 αἶ; μετρησ\* with hook to extended top of sigma    κ of καμάρας corr. from γ    2 λακκ/  
 μῆχ<sup>α</sup>ς (double curve attached to chi)    3 μῆ    νδ//    5 μῆκ/    πῆχ<sup>ς</sup> So in 6    6 πλατς\*  
 7 βαθ\* (crossbar of θ extended with hook) πῆχ<sup>ς</sup>    8 γι/ναυεῖ    9 ναυεῖ    ν

'The measurements of the vaulted chamber of the cistern of the irrigated area of Nesu Lachanias on the 17th of the month of Payni of the 13th indiction, as follows:

'Length                    50 cubits  
 'Width                    14<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub> cubits  
 'Depth                    6 cubits

'Total 161 1<sup>1</sup>/<sub>9</sub> 1<sup>1</sup>/<sub>54</sub> naubia.

'For the naubia 14(?) solidi.'

1 καμάρας. The first time in this context. See A. K. Orlandos and I. N. Travlos, *Λεξικὸν Ἀρχαίων Ἀρχιτεκτονικῶν Ὁρων* 138. Like ψαλίς (Orlandos and Travlos 267; 'crypt' or 'barrel vault' LSJ), it appears to be used both for a vault and by extension for the chamber with the vault. In the present text, clearly only the extended meaning is appropriate. For ψαλίς in the sense simply of the 'vault', and in connection with a λάκκος, see XLVIII 3409 25-6 ἡ γὰρ ψελλίς (l. ψαλίς) τοῦ λάκκου μου ἔπρεεν. LV 3804 221, τὴν ψαλ{λ}ίδα τοῦ λάκκου, is more equivocal.

2-3 Νήσου Λαχανίας. A well known ἐποίκιον, see Calderini-Daris, *Diz. geogr.* III 350; P. Pruneti, *I centri abitati dell' Ossirinichite* 120; add LV 3805 35 and n., and P. L. Bat. XXV 80 A II 6.

8 The total here is not quite accurate for the dimensions given in lines 5-7. 50 cubits × 14<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub> × 6 = 4350 cubic cubits, ÷ 27 (for the size of the naubion, 3 × 3 × 3 cubits, see 4537 10 n.) = 161 1<sup>1</sup>/<sub>9</sub> naubia. The extra 1<sup>1</sup>/<sub>54</sub> naubion implies an extra 1<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub> cubic cubit, but this is not to be obtained from the dimensions in the text.

9 Comparing 4537, after the total volume of the cistern we expect the mention of the amount of money paid for its construction. For the size of 161 naubia, at the same rate as in 4537 we would expect 4<sup>3</sup>/<sub>4</sub> solidi. We have the abbreviation for νο(μισμάτια) clearly, but no figure was written after it. Our apparent figure of 14 is thus not only much higher than the rate in 4537 but oddly placed before νο(μισμάτια). Before ι, there is a small hole, but I do not think [γ]ι[(νεται)] (cf. the form in 8) δ// is admissible. The higher rate may be justifiable on the basis that καμάρα implies construction work, whereas in 4537 ἀνορυχθ(έντος) may imply excavation work only.

A. SYRCOU

### 4539-4543. INVITATIONS TO DINNER

The five dinner invitations published here form an interesting addition to the corpus. As well as three invitations to dine at previously attested occasions—an epicrisis, a Sarapis banquet and the *ἱέρωμα Ἰσιδος*—there are two invitations to a festival for girls, the *θεραπευτήρια*.



Dinner invitations from Oxyrhynchus are listed by Skeat, *JEA* 61 (1975) 253 note 2, to which should be added I **181** descr. (*BASP* 31 (1994) 44–7), the texts listed by H. Cockle in LII **3693** introd., *ZPE* 35 (1979) 131–2, P. Köln VI 280, SB XVIII 13875 and LXII **4339**. Invitations are expressed formulaically, but the reasons for the invitation being sent and the venue for the celebration vary considerably. Invitations fall into two categories: for festivals of a definite religious nature, and to private celebrations for events such as weddings.

**4539–43** show few divergences from the usual format, with the name of the host stated but that of the guest omitted, followed by the reason for the dinner, the venue and the date (usually the next day or the same day), expressed as a numeral. The time in all our documents is the standard one, the ninth hour, or between two and three in the afternoon.

#### 4539. INVITATION TO AN ISIS FESTIVAL

101/178(b)

8.6 × 3.5 cm

Second/third century  
Plate XX

A well preserved invitation to the *ἑρῶμα* of Isis, written in a neat upright hand.

The format of this invitation parallels exactly that of P. Fouad 76, so far our only other invitation to, or indeed mention of, this festival of Isis. The only divergences are the venue (a private house in the Fouad text, in ours the Iseum), and the dates, respectively the 29th and the 8th. Unfortunately these dates cannot be assigned to particular Isis festivals with any certainty. The 29th might suggest Choiak 29, the date of the Cicellia in the Canopus inscription (*OGIS* 56), although this festival was as much Osiriac as Isiac in character (see R. Merkelbach, *Isisfeste in griechisch-römischer Zeit: Daten und Riten* (1963), 37–8). I have been unable to find any specific feast of Isis for the 8th. The great *Πλοιαφεία* or *Navigium Isidis* began on Phamenoth 9, an important Isiac observance, and it is conceivable that devotees could have met the day before for a ritual meal. IV **731** may refer to regular monthly festivals, commencing on the 9th and lasting two days. Protracted Isis-festivals followed by sacred meals are mentioned in Apuleius, *Metamorphoses* xi, 24.

The vague term *ἑρῶμα* is similarly unhelpful in trying to determine the nature of the feast. Major festivals of Isis were usually designated by name, see H. C. Youtie's re-edition of the Heidelberg Festival papyrus, *Scriptiunculae* I 530–32.

A point of interest is that the host of the banquet is a woman, as is Sarapous in the parallel invitation. It is probably not particularly significant in this context that both women bear Egyptian theophoric names.

The back is blank.

ἔρωτᾱ σε Ταῦρις δειπνῆ-  
 και εἰς ἱέρωμα τῆς κυρίας  
 Ἰσειδος ἐν τῷ Ἰσειῷ τῇ η´  
 ἀπὸ ὥρ(ας) θ´.

1 ταῦρις

2 ἱέρωμα

3 ἰσειδος; 1. Ἰσιδος ἰσειῷ

4 Ϙ

‘Taÿris invites you to dine on the occasion of the offering to the lady Isis, in the Iseum, on the 8th, from the 9th hour.’

<sup>3</sup> For the Iseum see J. Krüger, *Oxyrhynchos in der Kaiserzeit* 103; G. Ronchi, *Lexicon Theonymon* III 528–9; J. E. G. Whitehorne, *ANRW* II 18.5, 3073–4.

D. MONTSEERRAT

## 4540. INVITATION TO A SARAPIS MEAL

101/55 (c)

9.1 × 4.7 cm

Third century?  
Plate XX

On this very worm-eaten and abraded strip of papyrus is an invitation to dine at the *kline* of Sarapis in the usual format. A list of these invitations was given by M. Totti in *Ausgewählte Texte der Isis- und Sarapis-Religion* (1985), 125–127. For a discussion see the introd. to P. Coll. Youtie I 51–2. This invitation is to be classed with XIV **1755**, P. Coll. Youtie I 52 and LXII **4339** as taking place in the *oikos* of the Serapeum.

Of all invitation types, those to dine at the κλίνη Σαράπιδος are the most numerous and have attracted the most attention. Opinions as to the significance of the banquet have ranged from seeing it as a purely secular event, a sort of dining society (J. Milne, *JEA* 11 (1925), 6–9) to L. Koenen’s idea that its religious character was paramount and that the dates of extant κλίνη Σαράπιδος invitations could be related to specific Isis festivals (*ZPE* 1 (1967), 121 ff.). The editors of P. Oslo III 157 thought that all Sarapis meals would have had some religious connotation, but that they would have had a more avowedly religious character when held in temples or temple dining-rooms than in private houses. This was echoed by H. C. Youtie, *HTR* 41 (1948) 9 ff. (= *Scriptiunculae* I 184 ff.). Although I would not agree with Milne that the *kline* of Sarapis was purely

secular, he was probably right to emphasize its social significance. Therefore it is possible that the function of the banquet varied from occasion to occasion. Probably some of the invitations are for cult dinners at specific Sarapis festivals like the one in P. Mich. VIII 511, the preparations for which began two months in advance and which was primarily religious. The date of the banquet in **4540** is the eighth of an unspecified month; possibly this could be associated with **4339** (the ninth), XXXI **2592** (the tenth) or P. Coll. Youtie 52 (the eleventh).

Some interest is afforded by the name of the host, Dionysalexandrus. A second century hypothesis of Cratinus' comedy *Dionysalexandrus* was found at Oxyrhynchus (IV **663** = Pack<sup>2</sup> 252), but this is the first documentary attestation of the name there.

The papyrus' poor state of preservation and the featurelessness of the hand make it rather difficult to date, but I would assign it to the third century rather than the second. The back is blank.

ἔρωτᾱ σε Διονυσαλέξανδρος  
 δειπνῆσαι εἰ[ς] κλίνην τοῦ κυ-  
 ρί[ο]υ Σεράπειδο[ς] ἐν τῷ οἴκῳ  
 τοῦ Σεραπείου αὐριον ἥτις ἐς-  
 5 τὴν η' ἀπὸ ὥ[ρ]ας θ'.

2 1. κλίνην

'Dionysalexandrus invites you to dine at the table of the lord Sarapis in the dining-room of the Serapeum, tomorrow, which is the 8th, from the 9th hour.'

3 ἐν τῷ οἴκῳ with XIV **1755**, P. Coll. Youtie I 52 and LXII **4339**: the editors of the latter two give useful references for *oikoi* and temple dining-rooms. For the Serapeum at Oxyrhynchus see J. E. G. Whitehorne, *ANRW* II 18.5, 3078-9; references for Oxyrhynchus and elsewhere are in G. Ronchi, *Lexicon Theonymon* IV 947-V 964.

D. MONTSERRAT

#### 4541. INVITATION TO AN EPICRISIS FEAST

101/211(a)

6.6 × 2.5 cm

Third century  
 Plate XX

Similar invitations to celebratory banquets connected with the epicrisis are VI **926**, XXXVI **2792** and XLIX **3501**. The gymnasial epicrisis continues long after the *Constitutio Antoniniana*, cf. P. Mich. XIV 676 (272) and P. Turner 38 (after 274).

The back is blank.

ἔρωτᾱ σε διπνῆσε *Καραπίω*[ν]  
 εἰς τὸ *Καπιτώλ(ειον)* εἰς ἐπίκ(ριςιν) τοῦ  
 υἱοῦ αὐτοῦ [ᾱ]πὸ ὥρ(ας) θ—.

1 1. *δαιπνήσαι*      2 *καπιτω*<sup>λ</sup>, *επι*<sup>κ</sup>      3 *υἱου*, *Ϝ*      Crossbar of *θ* extended

‘Sarapion invites you to dine in the Capitolium on the occasion of the epicrisis of his son, from the 9th hour.’

2 For references to the Capitolium at Oxyrhynchus, see LIV 3757 3 n.; J. E. G. Whitehorne, *ANRW* II 18.5, 3084. For the Eastern Stoa where it was located (XVII 2109) see LXIV 4441.

3 No indication of the day is given: cf. P. Fay. 132.

D. MONTSERRAT

### 4542–3. TWO INVITATIONS TO A FESTIVAL FOR GIRLS

These invitations are both written across the fibres. The backs of both are blank.

The occasion of the feast is the *therapeuteria*, a word not in LSJ which has hitherto appeared in papyri in P. Oxy. Hels. 50.17 in a context which suggests feasting: *περὶ δὲ τῶν οἰναρίων, ὑπερεθέμεθα τὰ θεραπευτήρια εἰς τὸ μέλλον*. It should perhaps be restored in P. Lond. inv. 3078, republished by D. Montserrat, *JEA* 76 (1990) 206–7, who proposes *δαιπνήσα[ι εἰς θεραπευτή-]ρια*. P. Flor. III 279 (a sixth-century lease of land) transcribes the singular τοῦ *Θεραπευτηρίου*.

The word *therapeuteria* obviously derives from *θεραπεύω*, of which the meanings at this date range from ‘to do service, pay attention to’ (sometimes in a ritual context) to ‘cure’. The literary sources give no real help. In ‘Jo. Chrys.’, in *operarios undecimae horae* [*Augustinianum* 18 (1978) 353–6] the sinner εἰς τὸ τῆς ἐκκλησίας *θεραπευτήριον* παραγίνεται; in Nicetas Choniates, *Hist.* p. 551.56 van Dieten *θεραπευτήριά τε καὶ τρυφήτήρια* are prepared for the crusaders. In both, it seems that *θεραπευτήριον* means ‘a place for *θεράπευσις*’ — perhaps medical attention in the first, bodily comforts in the second. More relevant is a corrupt gloss in Cyril (Hesych. *θ* 370 Latte), *θερτήρια*: *ἐορτή τις*, which Meineke restored as <Ἄν>*θεστήρια*, Latte as *στεπτήρια*: *θερ<απευ>τήρια* might be a better suggestion.

One possible context would be religious observance. The *Suda* has an interesting entry under *θεραπευτήρες*: οἱ τῶν ἱερῶν προϊστάμενοι, *θεραπευταὶ Ἰσιδος παρ’ Αἰγυπτίοις*. Groups of *θεραπευταί* are widely attested in the hellenistic and Roman East; for Egypt, see UPZ I p. 52. Another might be medical, so that this was a celebration for being cured. If the former, it may be that the *therapeuteria* was somehow connected with puberty; the girls in these documents must be unmarried, since their fathers are the hosts at the feasts. See D. Montserrat, *Sex and Society in Graeco-Roman Egypt* 45–6.



4542

100/73(b)

5.3 × 3.7 cm

Third century  
Plate XX

ἐρωτᾶ σε Σεουήρος  
 δειπνήσαι ἐν τῇ οἰ-  
 κίᾳ αὐτοῦ εἰς θερα-  
 πευτήρια θυγατρὸς  
 5 αὐτοῦ σήμερον ἥτις  
 ἐστὶν ἡ ἀπὸ ὥρ(ας) θ<sup>-</sup>.

6 B

‘Severus invites you to dine in his house on the occasion of the *therapeuteria* of his daughter today, that is the 19th(?), from the 9th hour.’

4543

100/77(a)

11 × 6 cm

Late third century  
Plate XX

The papyrus is considerably larger than usual, and has generous margins: the blank space at the bottom is 3 cm, the left margin about 1.5 cm. Nevertheless, this invitation is not of the ‘formal’ type exemplified by IX **1214**, LII **3694** and the later P. Apoll. 72.

καλεῖ σε Ἰσχὺς εἰς θεραπευτήρια τῆς  
 θυγατρὸς αὐτοῦ [σήμερον . . . . ου] εἰς τὴν  
 ἀντικρὺς αὐτοῦ ο[ι]κίαν ἡζ<sup>-</sup> ἀπὸ ὥρας θ<sup>-</sup>.

‘Ischys invites you to the *therapeuteria* of his daughter [today ...] in the house opposite his, on the 17th, from the 9th hour.’

1 καλεῖ, although less usual than ἐρωτᾶ, is still formulaic: cf. XII **1486**, XVII **2147**.

Ἰσχὺς. Cf. P. Prag. II 141 I.5?

2-3 The time and possibly also the venue of the feast have been changed: one is reminded of the postponed *therapeuteria* in P. Oxy. Hels. 50.

## 4544. PRIVATE LETTER: EUDAEMON TO HEGUMENUS

46 5B.51/F(2-4)b

12 × 26.5 cm

Third century

This private letter was written on the back of the tax account offcut **4527** above (dating from after 28 August 185), across the fibres and upside down relative to **4527**. There is no address.

χαῖρε κύριέ μου  
 Ἑγούμενε π(αρά) Εὐδαίμονος.  
 παραγεν<όμεν>ος εἰ[ς] Ἑρακλεοπ(ολίτην?)  
 δέδωκα τὰ β<sup>-</sup> κεράμια  
 5 Πασικᾶ τῶν ἐλεῶν  
 ἵνα σοι ἀποδοῖ. ἀλλὰ  
 καὶ τὸ ἐργατικὸν τοῦ  
 μαγείρου σου ὅσον οὕπω  
 ἢ πέμψω ἢ κομιῶ, ὅταν  
 10 μοι ποιήσης γραφήναι, εἴ  
 γε βούλει πρὸς σὲ γενέσθαι.  
 τῷ ἀγαθωτάτῳ Χρησίμῳ  
 τὸ ἐντόλιον ἔκε[ι] ἐνεγκὼν  
 τῷ αὐτῷ δέδωκα Πασικᾶ.  
 15 ἔάν σοι ἡδὺ ᾦν, γράψεις μοι  
 τί βούλει πρὶν ταξ[.....]....  
 [[βο]] θέλουσι λαβεῖν πρὸς[. .] .ρεσιιν.

Down the left margin:

μηδὲν ὑπὲρ τιμῆς δῶς τῷ τὰς ἐλάας σοι διδόντι.  
 (m. 2?) ἔρρωσθαί σε εὖχο(μαι), κύριέ μου.

2 π'

3 ηρακλεο)

5 l. ἐλαιῶν

6 l. ἀποδῶ

15 l. ἢ

18 l. ἐλαίας

19 ευχο

'Greetings, my lord Hegumenus, from Eudaemon. I have arrived in the Heracleopolite(?) and I have given the two jars to Pasicas, I mean the jars of olives, so that he may give them to you. However, your cook's wages(?) I shall either send or bring without delay, whenever you have someone write to me, if indeed you want it to go to you(?). I took the order for the excellent Chresimus there and have given it to the same Pasicas. If it so please you, write to me what you want before ... they want to take ...'

(Margin) 'Don't pay anything to the man who gives you the olives. I pray for your health, my lord.'

<sup>1</sup> χαῖρε κύριέ μου. This opening occurs in letters from the 2nd to the 3rd century AD, see F. H. J. Exler, *A Study in Greek Epistolography* 35–6. It is not used for official letters, but for private ones. This would favour ἡγούμενε against ἡγούμενε (2).

<sup>2</sup> ἡγούμενε. See 1 n. Recorded both as a proper name and as a title; it is sometimes difficult to choose. For the personal name cf. P. Heid. IV 325.1 (Oxyrhynchite, after 6 January 215) and n. It is also clearly a personal name in PSI XII 1238 (2 September 244).

<sup>3</sup> Ἡρακλεοπ(ολίτην?). The expansion is not certain; we might expect the article with Ἡρακλεοπολίτην. On the other hand, the normal form of the city name is Ἡρακλέους πόλις. See Calderini-Daris, *Diz. geogr.* II 217–9, 220–4.

<sup>5</sup> Πασικᾶ. The name is attested elsewhere only in P. Münch. III 146 iii 19 (II AD) and P. Ross. Georg. III 1.25 (III AD), in the genitive Πασικᾶτος; for the declension, see Gignac, *Grammar* I 276–7; II 16–18.

<sup>7</sup> τὸ ἐργατικόν. Leaving aside references to working livestock, a search under ἐργατικ- on the DDBDP produces P. Bad. II 26.6, P. Cairo Goodsp. 30 xxxvii 16, P. Corn. 3.15, P. Lond. III 1170 verso 432, SPP X 251 A 6 and SB I 4921.5. None of these texts supplies a clear meaning. Cf. also 4530 30.

<sup>6</sup> ἀποδοῖ. For the form see Gignac, *Grammar* II 388.

<sup>8</sup> ὄσον οὕπω. For this idiom see LSJ s.v. ὄσος IV.5.

<sup>12</sup> ἀγαθωτάτῳ. This superlative form, equivalent of βέλτιστῳ, is found among later classical authors and in the papyri. See Gignac, op. cit. II 146–7. It is worth noticing that, in the papyri, ἀγαθώτατος seems to apply only to persons, which is not true of βέλτιστος.

<sup>13</sup> ἐντόλιον. Cf. P. Brem. 20.8, P. Hamb. II 192.6 and O. Bodl. II 2525.1, where the square bracket faces the wrong way. ἐντολίδιον occurs in XIV 1767 17–18.

<sup>15</sup> ἦν for ἦ, as often, see Gignac, op. cit. II 405.

<sup>17</sup> [[βο]]. Eudaemon was probably going to write βούλονται instead of θέλουναι, having in mind still the βούλει he had just written above (16).

<sup>18</sup> δῶς? Given the writer's use of the form ἀποδοῖ (6), perhaps δωσ = δός is more probable.

P. SCHUBERT

# INDEXES

Figures in small raised type refer to fragments, small roman numerals to columns. Square brackets indicate that a word is wholly or substantially restored by conjecture or from other sources, round brackets that it is expanded from an abbreviation or a symbol. An asterisk denotes a word not recorded in *LSJ* or Suppl. The article is not indexed.

## I. EPIGRAM AND ELEGY

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## II. COMEDY

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## III. RULERS AND REGNAL YEARS

## VESPASIAN

*Αὐτοκράτωρ Καῖσαρ Οὐεσπασιανὸς Σεβαστός* (year 2)  
**4526** 28–29

## DOMITIAN

*Αὐτοκράτωρ Καῖσαρ Δομιτιανὸς Σεβαστὸς Γερμανικὸς*  
 (year 4) **4532** 3, cf. 11

## COMMODUS

*Κόμμοδος Ἀντωνῖνος Καῖσαρ* (incomplete, year 25)  
**4527** 6

## SEVERUS

*Αὐτοκράτωρ Καῖσαρ Λούκιος Σεπτίμιος Σεουήρος*  
*Εὐσεβῆς Περτίναξ Σεβαστὸς Ἀραβικὸς Ἀδιαβηνικὸς*  
 (year 4) **4531** 34–38

## DIOCLETIAN AND MAXIMIAN

*οἱ κύριοι ἡμῶν Διοκλητιανὸς καὶ Μαξιμιανὸς Σεβαστοί* (year 5 and 4?) **4530** 38–39; also **4530** 3–5 (oath formula), cf. 26–27 (incomplete) *Διοκλητιανὸς καὶ Μαξιμιανὸς οἱ κύριοι ἡμῶν Σεβαστοί* (year 5 and 4?) **4530** 18–19

## MAURICE

*ὁ θεϊότατος καὶ εὐσεβέστατος ἡμῶν δεσπότης μέγιστος* *αἰώνιος Αὔγουστος καὶ Αὐτοκράτωρ* (year 18)  
*εὐεργέτης Φλάουῖος Μαυρίκιος Νέος Τιβέριος ὁ* **4535** 3–6

## HERACLIUS

*ὁ θεϊότατος καὶ εὐσεβέστατος ἡμῶν δεσπότης μέγιστος*  
*εὐεργέτης Φλάουῖος Ἡράκλειος ὁ αἰώνιος Αὔγουστος*  
*καὶ Αὐτοκράτωρ* (year 2) **4536** 2–5

Year 30/20/12/3 (AD 335/6) **4534** 7–8

## IV. CONSULS

AD 335 ὑπατείας Ἰουλίου Κωνσταντίου πατρικίου  
 ἀδελφοῦ τοῦ δεσπότου ἡμῶν Κωνσταντίνου  
 Αὔγουστου καὶ Ῥουφίου Ἀλβίνου τῶν λαμπροτάτων  
**4534** 1–2

AD 336 ὑπατείας Οὐῖριου Νεπωτιανοῦ καὶ Τεττίου  
 Φακούνδου τῶν λαμπροτάτων **4528** 1–2

AD 376 ὑπατείας τῶν δεσποτῶν ἡμῶν Οὐάλεντος τὸ ε  
 καὶ Οὐαλεντινιανοῦ τὸ αζ τῶν αἰωνίων Αὔγουστων  
**4529** 1–2

AD 600 ὑπατείας τοῦ αὐτοῦ εὐσεβεστάτου ἡμῶν δεσπό-  
 του ἔτους ιζ' **4535** 7–8

V. INDICATIONS  
V. INDICATIONS

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1st indiction **4536** 6 (=AD 612/613)  
3rd indiction **4535** 8–9 (=AD 599/600) **4537** 5  
4th indiction **4537** 6  
13th indiction **4538** 3

VI. MONTHS AND DAYS

(a) MONTHS

*Αθύρ* **4530** 19, 40  
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*Ἐπερίφ* **4531** 39  
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*Παχών* **4528** 18 **4537** 5  
*Τῶβι* **4526** 29 **4535** 8  
*Μεσορή* **4527** 15  
*Μεχείρ* **4532** 3  
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(b) DAYS

*Σεβαστή* **4526** 29

VII. DATES

28 June 196 **4531** 39  
17 November 288(?) **4530** 19  
18 November 288(?) **4530** 40  
2 October 335 **4534** 16  
6 May 336 **4528** 18  
22 June 376 **4529** 2  
14 January(?) 600 **4535** 8  
27 October 612(?) **4536** 5

VIII. PERSONAL NAMES

*Αιμίλιος Ἀμμωνιανός* centurion **4531** 8–9  
*Ἀλβίνος* see Index IV s.v. AD 335  
*Ἀλεξᾶς* f. of Hatres, gd.-f. of Amoïs and Zoilus **4533** 4  
*Ἀμμωνιανός* see *Αιμίλιος Ἀμμωνιανός*  
*Ἀμμώνιος* see *Αὔρηλιος Ἀμμώνιος*  
*Ἀμόϊς* b. of Zoilus, s. of Hatres and Heraclous, gd.-s. of Alexas **4533** 4, 5, 10, [11]  
*Ἀμόϊς dieramatites* **4526** 17  
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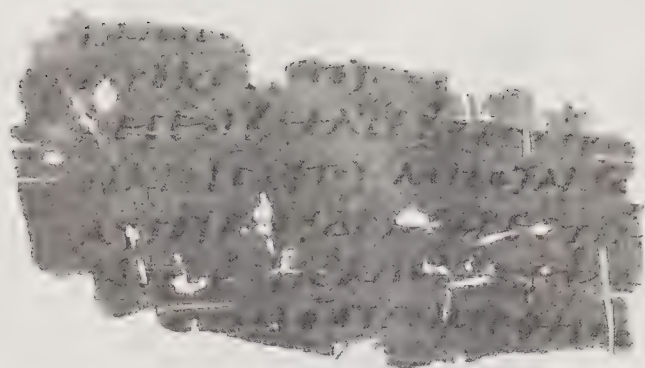
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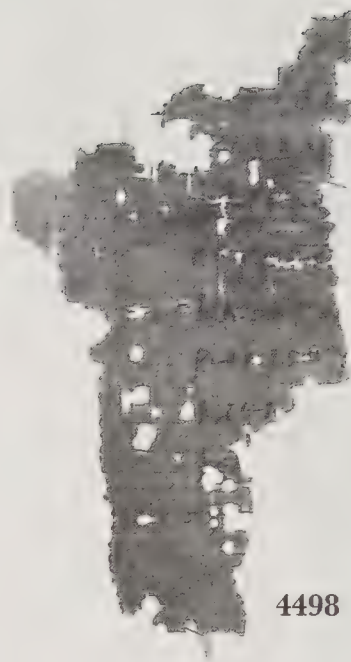
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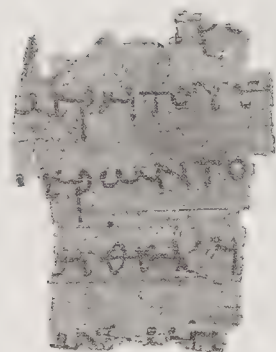




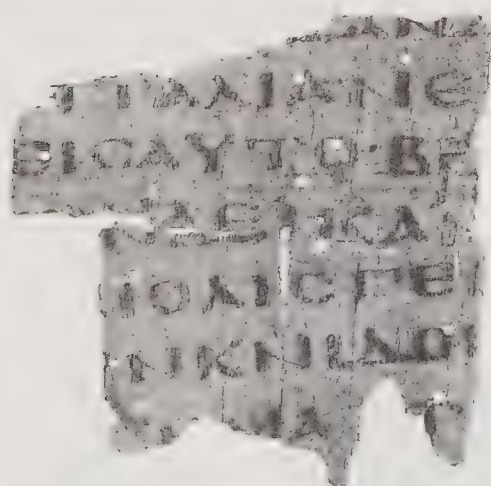
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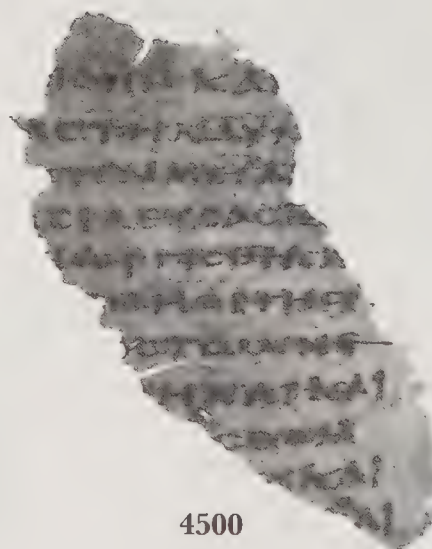
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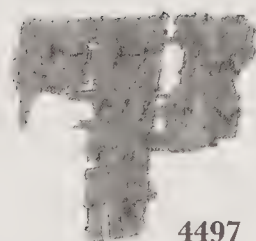
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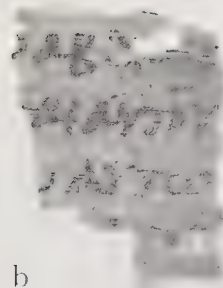


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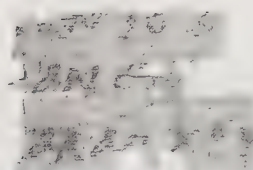




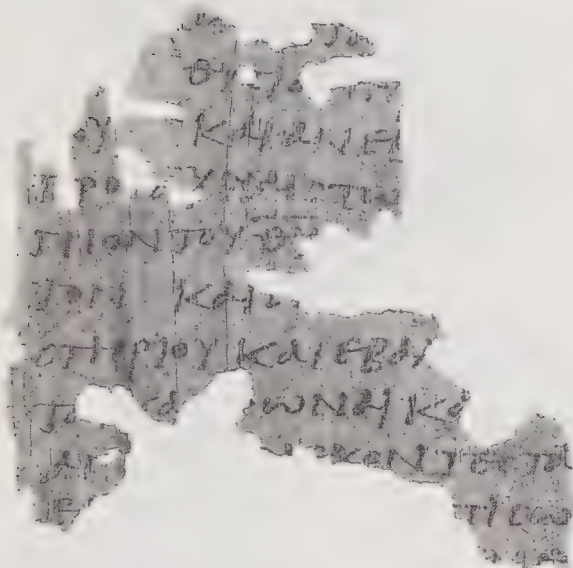
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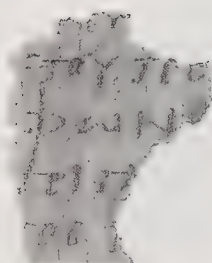
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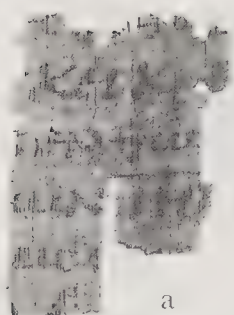


c-d

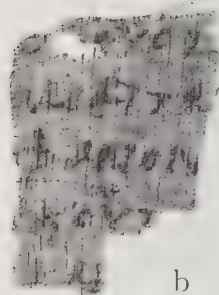


e-i

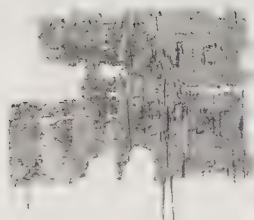




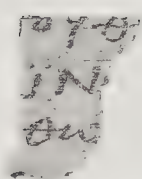
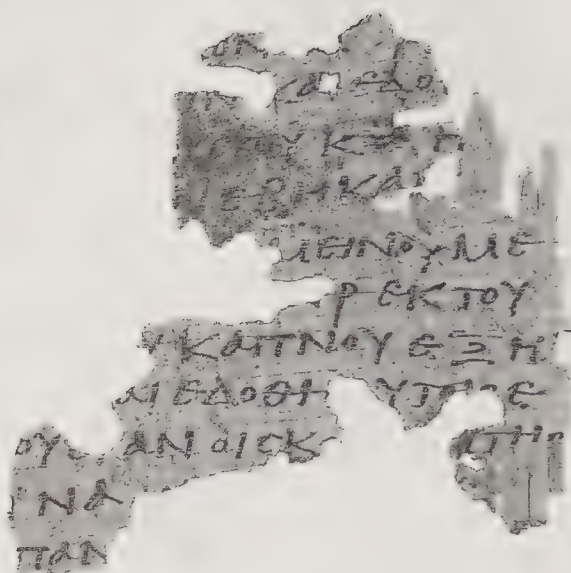
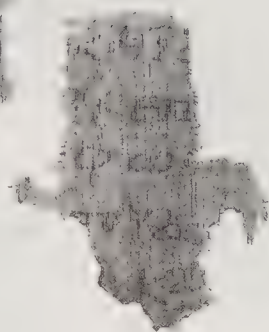
a



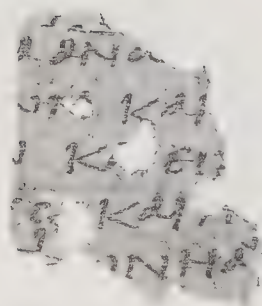
b



c-d



e-i



















4501

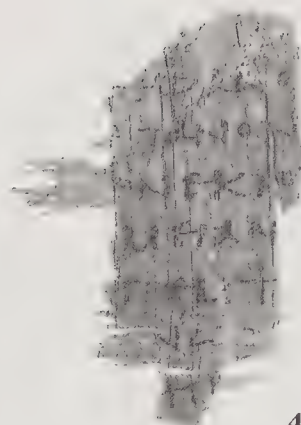
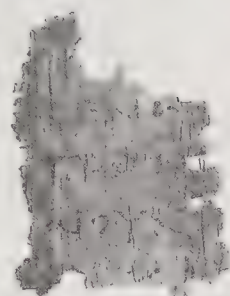




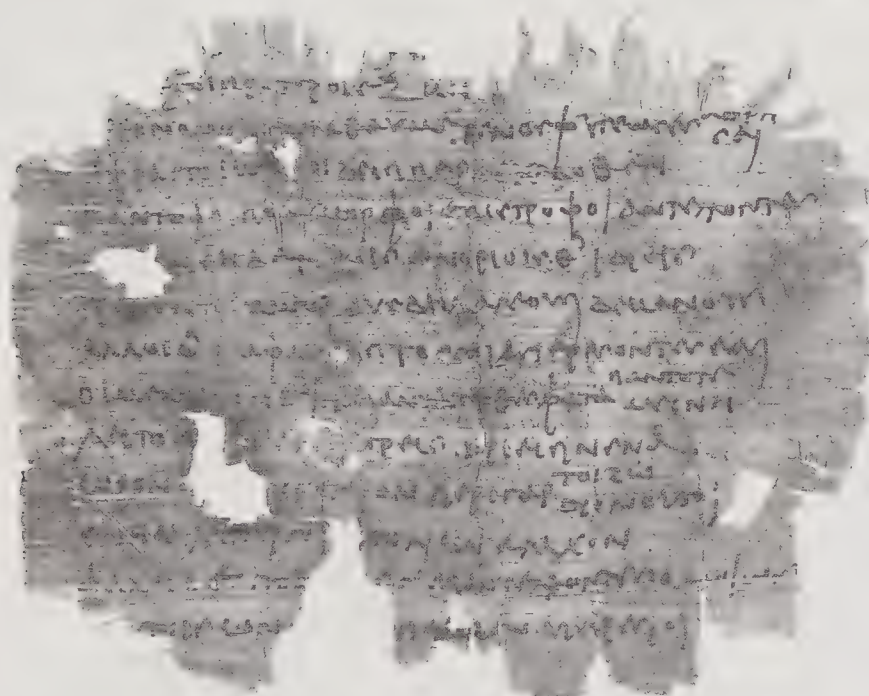
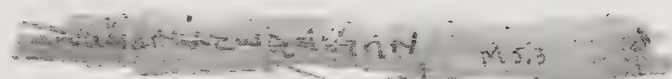




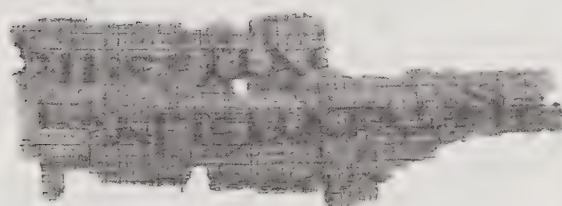
4499 x-y



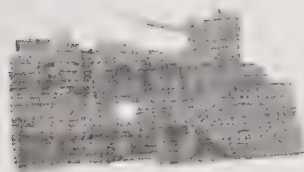
4499 z



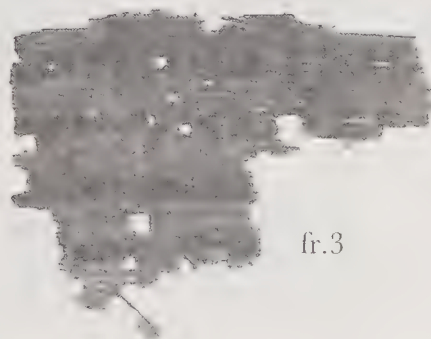
4503



fr.1



fr.2



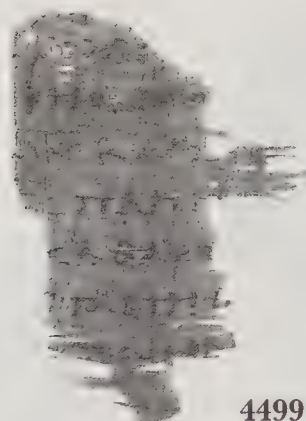
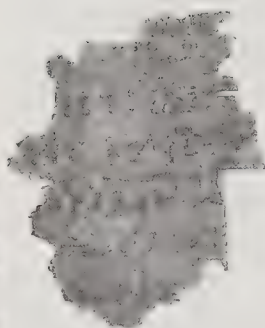
fr.3

4507

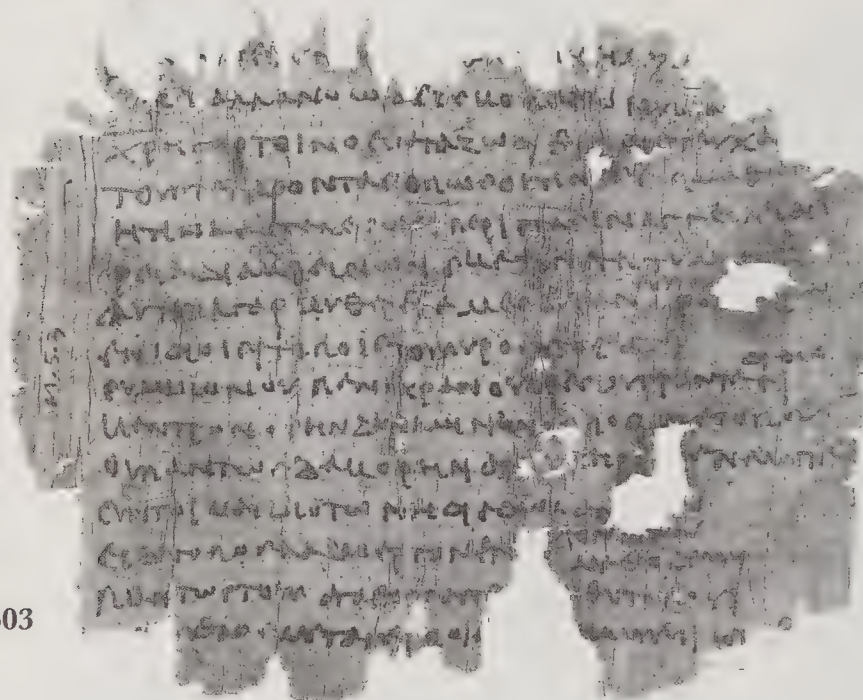




**4499** x-y



4499 Z



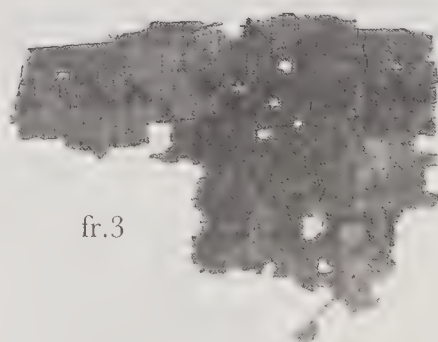
4503



fr. 1



fr.2



fr.3

4507



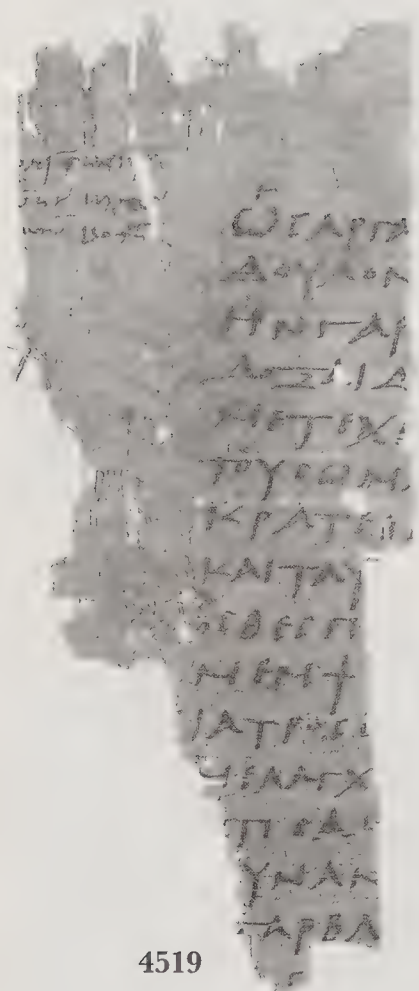
4504



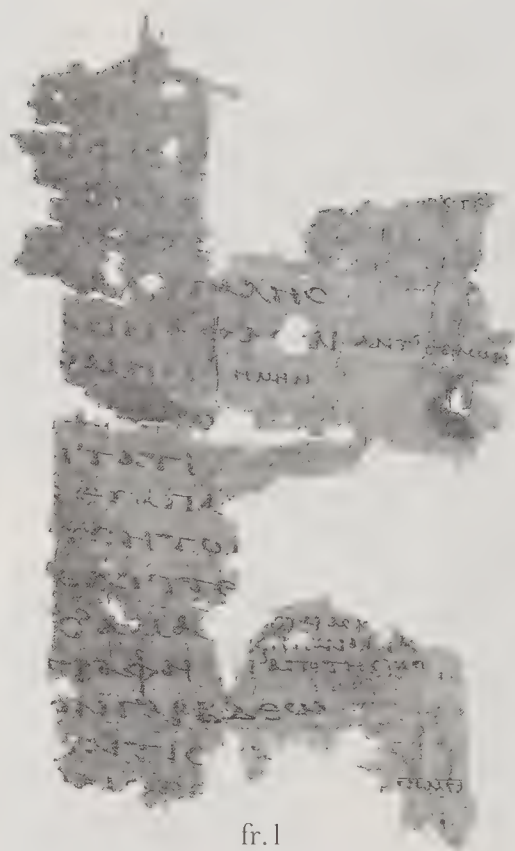




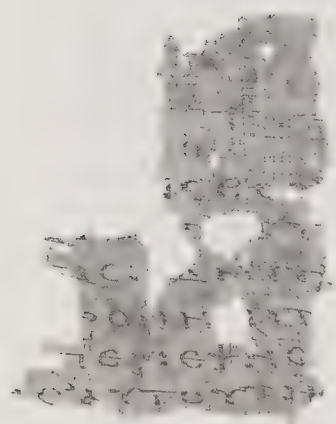




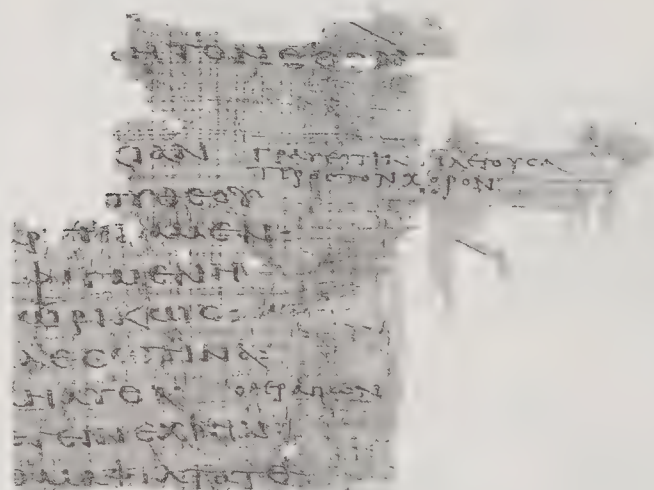
4519



fr.1



fr.2



fr.3

4521









4522

[illegible]

Handwritten text on a fragment of papyrus, likely from a Greek or Latin manuscript. The text is partially obscured by damage and is difficult to decipher, but appears to contain several lines of script.

4524

Handwritten text on a larger fragment of papyrus, showing several lines of script. The text is written in a cursive hand and includes some characters that may be Greek or Latin. The fragment is damaged and the text is partially obscured.

4538





βασιλεως των ανδρων  
 ιουδα και ιερουσαλημ  
 ιουδα και ιερουσαλημ  
 ιουδα και ιερουσαλημ

4539

βασιλεως των ανδρων  
 ιουδα και ιερουσαλημ  
 ιουδα και ιερουσαλημ  
 ιουδα και ιερουσαλημ  
 ιουδα και ιερουσαλημ  
 ιουδα και ιερουσαλημ

4540

βασιλεως των ανδρων  
 ιουδα και ιερουσαλημ  
 ιουδα και ιερουσαλημ  
 ιουδα και ιερουσαλημ

4541

βασιλεως των ανδρων  
 ιουδα και ιερουσαλημ  
 ιουδα και ιερουσαλημ  
 ιουδα και ιερουσαλημ  
 ιουδα και ιερουσαλημ  
 ιουδα και ιερουσαλημ

4542

βασιλεως των ανδρων  
 ιουδα και ιερουσαλημ  
 ιουδα και ιερουσαλημ  
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 ιουδα και ιερουσαλημ  
 ιουδα και ιερουσαλημ  
 ιουδα και ιερουσαλημ

4543









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